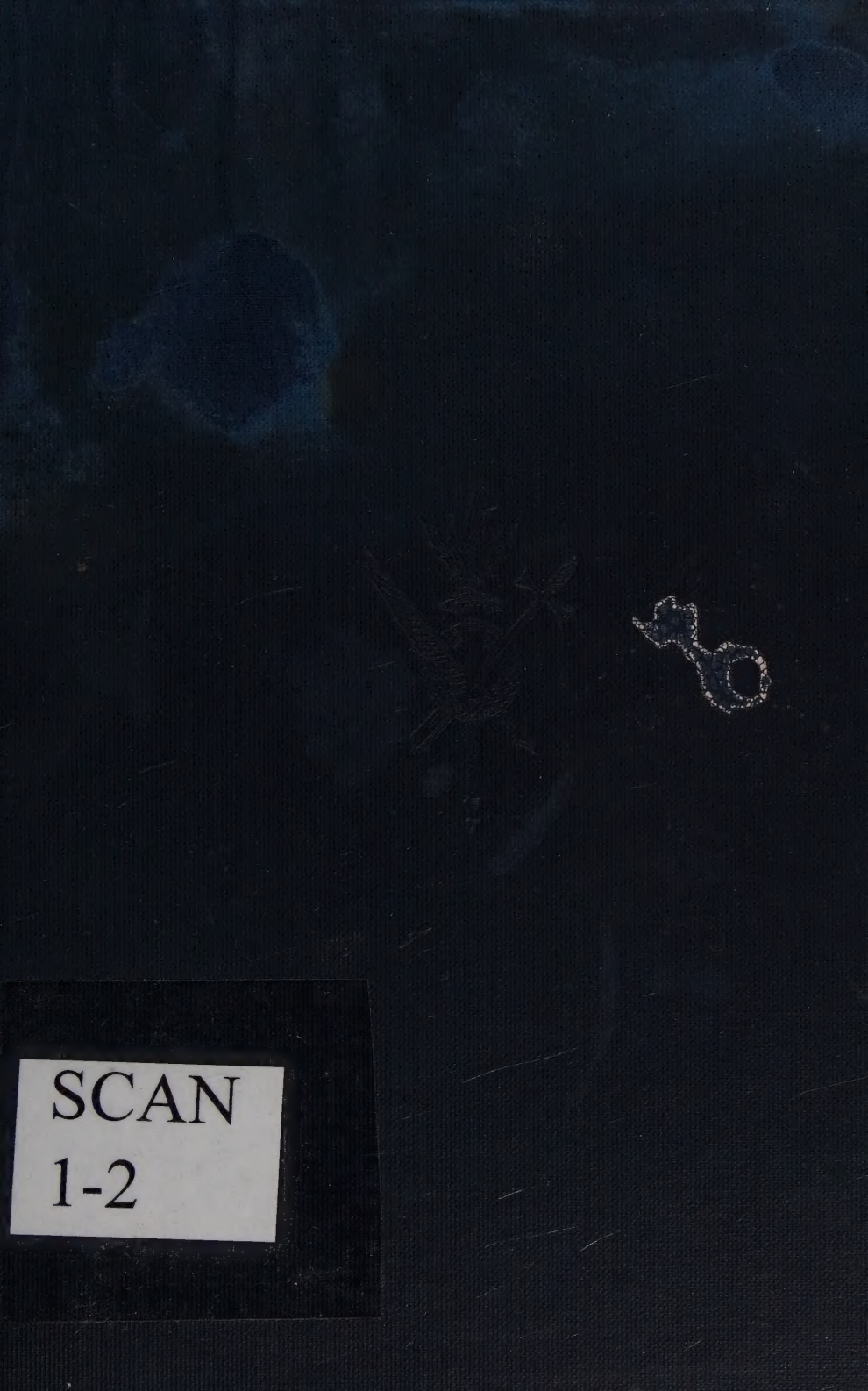

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The History *of* Nations

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THE HISTORY OF NATIONS
HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph. D., LL. D. · EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

NORWAY SWEDEN
AND
DENMARK

BY E. C. OTTE

EDITED BY
EDWARD SAMUEL CORWIN, Ph. D.
INSTRUCTOR IN HISTORY
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

POLAR RESEARCH

BY G. T. SURFACE
RESEARCH FELLOW IN GEOGRAPHY
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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NOTE

The editors of "The History of Nations" concluded their work with the chronicling of events to October, 1905, and all additions thereafter, bringing the histories to date, have been supplied by the publishers.

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PART I

THE MYTHICAL NORTH AND THE AGE OF THE VIKINGS. 400 B. C.-1047

HISTORY OF NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK

Chapter I

THE PRIMITIVE NORTH

THE ancient Greeks and Romans had what seem to us very absurd ideas of the region in the north of Europe; for they thought that it was made up entirely of ice, snow, mists, clouds, and darkness, but that far beyond the north wind there lived a race of so-called Hyberboreans or Outside North-winders! The fable had it that these Hyberboreans were mortals living in perfect peace with their gods and among themselves, and dwelling in such a rich land and under such bright sunny skies that fruits and grains ripened there without the care of the husbandman. Plenty abounded everywhere. No one suffered pain or illness of any kind, and, therefore, since the old men and women in that blessed land did not die, as elsewhere, from disease or weakness, those who grew weary of existence put a speedy end to their lives by throwing themselves headlong from some high cliff into the sea, which opened to receive them, and then gently closed over their bodies.

By degrees, however, men began to doubt whether mortals could find such charming abodes upon any part of this earth, even if they were lucky enough to get beyond the north wind; and so the belief in Hyperboreans died out.

The most ancient account, of any historical value at all, that we possess of the north is that which has come down to us in abbreviated form from Pytheas, a Greek astronomer or trader, who lived in Marseilles at the time of Alexander the Great. Pytheas was sent by his government to inquire into the position and character of the lands to the north from which the Phœnicians were bringing away amber and other products not obtainable nearer home. His voyage along the western coast of Europe was an

enterprise of remarkable boldness. Considering the scant facilities of navigation in that age, it is hardly to be wondered at that his narrative was considerably scouted by men of a later day. Despite the ridicule of Strabo and others, however, Pytheas must have been what, in these days, we should call a scientific traveler, and the little that we know of his labors makes us feel that, whatever the ancients may have thought of him, he has given us the report of a careful observer.

But more than this, some of the very features of his narrative that Pytheas's critics most discountenanced, and most relied upon to cast discredit upon his whole report, have for us the greatest verisimilitude, and, therefore, the greatest claims to credence. This is especially true of his account of Thule, the most northerly land that he touched, and described by him as an island. Here the nights at midsummer were only two or three hours long. Here, also, amber was cast up by the sea in such abundance that the inhabitants used it for fuel. Finally, he described an extraordinary phenomenon, which he calls *pneumon Thalassios* or "lung of the sea." *Pneumon Thalassios* was of neither earth, sea, nor sky, but a blending together of all three; a something in which land, water, and air seemed to float and mingle together, producing a heavy girdle round the shore, along which the feet of neither men nor animals could make their way, nor boats be moved by oars or sails. For a long while this extraordinary thing excited the wonder of all who read or heard of Pytheas's account of it. But the wonder has ceased since it has been discovered that the "lung of the sea" was a common name among the Greeks for the jelly-fish or Medusa, numbers of which abound in the waters of the Mediterranean, and must have been well known to the people of Marseilles. Hence it has been not unreasonably conjectured that Pytheas, wishing to describe to his friends at home the appearance of ice floating on the waters of the ocean, which they had never seen, compared it to the shoals of jelly-fish which fringed their shores in a living girdle of moving, white, half-transparent matter.

Thus, though the identity of Thule was for many centuries a matter of wild speculation, assuming in the Middle Ages something of the importance that speculation as to the source of the Nile did before Stanley's discovery, and though its exact location must be conceded still to be conjectural, yet, on the basis of those very portions of his narrative which Strabo and others thought

most ridiculous, we may conclude that Pytheas reached the land he set out for, and that that land was a portion of what we to-day call Scandinavia.

According to Pytheas, the natives of a land a little to the south of Thule thrashed the grain, of which they made bread, in large roofed-in-buildings, where it was carefully stored away under cover, "because the sun did not always shine there and the rain and the snow often came and spoiled the crops in the open air." These people, moreover, enclosed gardens, in which were grown hardy plants and berries, which they used for food. They kept bees, and made a pleasant drink out of the honey. They were very eager to trade with the foreigners who came to their shores for amber, but keen in making a bargain, and always ready and well able to fight, if they thought themselves ill-used. This picture of the people of northern Europe, about the time that Alexander the Great was making his conquests, or more than two thousand two hundred years ago, proves to us, therefore, that they were not mere savages, but had already learned many useful arts.

Modern archæology is able to supplement and fill out Pytheas's narrative at many points, but of especial interest are the religious relics of the primitive Scandinavians. Undoubtedly, these ancient folks were Shamanists, and their religious practices, if not those of the Baal-worshipers of the Old Testament, were at least very like them. Thus they let their young children, as well as their cattle and all that they held precious, be passed through the fire of a Moloch-like divinity. They set up images of the sun, which they represented under different forms, as circles, wheels, pillars, and similar figures, and they used great metal kettles in their sacrifices, remains of which have been dug up in different parts of northern Europe, and are exactly like those described in I. Kings, c. vii., as being made by Hiram, the Syrian, for Solomon's Temple.

Indeed, traces of this faith are still to be found outside Scandinavia; for, till very recent times, the country people in some parts of Ireland and Scotland, and even of England, had the custom of celebrating the return of midsummer-night on June 24 by dancing together round a large fire lighted on some high hill, or running three times through the fire to secure the fulfillment of a wish. These midsummer-night dances, which were known in Britain as Beltanes, were nothing but the remains of an earlier form of Baal-worship, persisting long after their real meaning had been forgotten.

In our word yule we have another vestige of the former worship of Baal, or the sun, for yule once meant wheel, and the yule-tide of the ancient Northmen was the winter solstice in December, when the young men with loud cries rolled a large wheel down hill to celebrate the death of the old, and the birth of the new, year; a wheel being, in their eyes, an emblem of the year, or the sun. Long after Christmas Day had taken the place of the old yule-tide, and men had become Christians, they still continued their December wheel-runnings, without knowing why, but simply because their forefathers had done it before them. Even November 5 is still celebrated throughout southern England with bonfires and the like, and not so much because "gunpowder plot and treason" were foiled on that day, as because of an unconscious reminiscence of the Druidical obeisance to fire.

To the time of these primitive people and practices the archæologists give the name of the Bronze Age, because of the substance of the weapons and utensils that have been recovered from that remote epoch. Eventually the people of the Bronze Age were dispossessed of their lands in Scandinavia by a people who used iron weapons, namely, one of the German tribes, who, even before the year 500 B. C., had begun to crowd from the East into the vast region lying between the Baltic Sea and Mediterranean Europe. The particular tribe of Germans who effected the conquest of Scandinavia were the northern Goths. This people, in the course of the second century B. C., reached the southern shores of the Baltic. Gradually they forced their way up into what is to-day Denmark, and thence across into southern Norway and Sweden. At the time when the Cimbri and Teutons, the advance guard and forlorn hope of the German invasion of Rome, were being encompassed and destroyed in northern Italy by the Consul Marius, the Goths were successfully completing their occupation of Scandinavia. A few, however, of the primitive tribes lying to the northeast, across the Baltic, remained comparatively unaffected by the Gothic invasion. These became the progenitors of the modern Lapps and Finns.

Chapter II

SAGAS AND EDDAS—MEDIÆVAL CHRONICLES

OUR sources of knowledge of the Scandinavian invaders, or Northmen, as we may now call them, are of two sorts: the accounts of contemporaries and the literary remains of the Northmen themselves. The German tribes beyond the Rhine and Danube were, from the time of Augustus, pressing the northern frontier of the Roman empire more tumultuously from year to year. Inevitably the interest of the Romans was directed northward. Tacitus, in his "*Germania*," treats of the barbarians in general, of their customs, religion, and political organization, and writes for a moral purpose, *viz.*, to emphasize German purity, in contrast to the laxity and viciousness which he felt sure foredoomed Rome to destruction. Several centuries later Jornandes, the Visigoth, writes in crude and ungrammatical Latin a more particular account of his own people, close kindred of the Northmen. Much later still is King Alfred's translation of the historian Orosius, in his introduction to which the great king reduces to writing his conversations with two travelers from Scandinavia, Wulfstan and Ohthere by name. Finally, a frail thread of real historical narrative may be gathered from the works of contemporary, but alien, chroniclers of the early Middle Ages.

The Scandinavian sources are threefold: compilations, sagas, and runic inscriptions. First of the compilations is the great thesaurus of Danish myth and tradition, from the pen of a pious monk of the twelfth century, the learned Saxo, surnamed Grammaticus. Saxo and his friend Svend Aagesen, encouraged by their patron Absalon, greatest of the primates of Denmark, set about to compose a history of their native country by collecting and writing out all the songs and tales that still lived among the people.

Of the sixteen books of this work, nine are entirely mythical, even to the pretended lists of kings, but in furnishing us a record of what the Danes themselves believed to be their early history, they afford indirectly material that is often of great historical value.

Comparable with Saxo's compilation is the curious work that we owe to the patriotic zeal of Johannes Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala, in the sixteenth century. "The History of the Goths and Swedes" is, however, of distinctly less value, even as a storehouse of folklore, than the "History of Denmark," from which it is largely plagiarized, its narrative being vitiated by the futile endeavors of its author to trace analogies between Scandinavian chronology and that of the Bible.

The absurdity of Johannes' enterprise became evident when the "*Heimskringla*" was rendered available to Europeans by the scholar, Resenius, in the seventeenth century. This remarkable book is a compilation of the sagas of the kings of Norway down to the thirteenth century, and the work of a remarkable man, Snorre Sturleson, who was one of the leading figures in Iceland about the year 1220. To him is also attributed the collection of the Younger, or Prose Edda, while that of the Elder, or Poetic Edda, is credited to a certain Saemund, an Icelander of the twelfth century. The matter of the "*Heimskringla*" is historical; that of the Eddas is mythologic; both are but collections of the tales or sagas of the pagan skalds.

The term sagas, then, designates the historico-mythic tales and ballads, the lore of which was garnered by Saxo, Snorre, and others. They were composed in the Norroena Mal, the universal language of Scandinavia in the eighth century, and transmitted from generation to generation of skalds centuries before they were reduced to writing. The skalds came thus to constitute a profession, whose function was partly that of entertainment of royalty—some sang their lays before the Byzantine emperors—but chiefly that of national historiographers. Their marvelous attainments in the art of recitation, their sheer feats of memory excited the admiration even of contemporaries. Thus it is recorded that one recited sixty lays in a single night, yet declared that he knew as many more. Monarchs were eager to honor those who had it in their power to perpetuate a royal name with fame or obloquy or to leave it to sink into oblivion. Thus they elevated their coteries of skalds to the highest offices, gave them their daughters in marriage, and even emulated them in their high calling. The Christian zeal of St. Olaf, king of Norway in the middle of the eleventh century, brought all this to an end. The fame of royalty was henceforth to be intrusted to the pens of monkish chroniclers, rather

than the words of pagan singers. It is, however, to the sagas that we must go, not only for the cosmology, mythology, and legend of the early north, but also for the essential spirit of its life and beliefs. In the Icelandic Eddas, in the story of Beowulf, and in the kindred "*Nibelungenlied*," we have the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" of the Scandinavia of the days when the Vikings plundered Christian monasteries to the glory of Odin, and Ygdrasil, the giant ash, bore up the world.

The term *rune*,[1] applied to the letters used by the Northmen, is derived from a Scandinavian root which signifies to carve. The origin of these characters, sixteen in number, has long been wrapped in mystery, but it is generally held to-day that they are from an ancient Latin alphabet and were obtained by the Germans from the Celtic peoples of the Alps. While mostly applied to purposes of necromancy, witchcraft, and enchantment, the runes were often used in inscriptions, which, like certain Etruscan and Italian inscriptions, proceed from right to left, or, in some cases, in both directions, and which are of the greatest historical value in that they record the acts of kings, many adventures of lesser personages, the initial efforts of the Christian missionaries in Scandinavia, and, until the thirteenth century, even the laws. They afforded, moreover, the means for maintaining intercourse between the scattered offshoots of the great northern stock. Thus, during the eighth and ninth centuries, when the Northmen had extended their power over so many parts of Europe, letters written in runes were frequently sent from one prince to another, and could be read equally well at Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, Gothic, Russian, Scandinavian, and Byzantine courts. The language of the runic inscriptions, like that of the sagas, is the Norroena Mal; and a study of them makes it evident that for a long time there was no divergence between the language of the north and that of the Gothic gospel of Ulfilas, and even to this day, after the lapse of a thousand years, the identity of this tongue has been essentially maintained by the Scandinavians of Iceland.

Scandinavian worship centered about Odin, yet the exact identity of this divinity is most perplexing. Would it be irreverent to compare him to Janus, and call him two-faced? At any rate, in him the Northmen seem to have worshiped the founder of their institutions, both ecclesiastical and civil, and of the dynasty of Skioldungs, as well as the Alfadir, the Creator. It is in the latter

[1] Lavisse-Rambaud, "*Histoire Générale*," Vol. II., p. 732.

guise that the Eddas present him. The beautiful son of Bör, by the daughter of a Yotun, one of the primeval giants, he slew the most terrible of these giants, Ymer by name, and from the huge carcass of his victim created the earth, which he set between Niflheim, the realm of frost and darkness, and Muspelheim, the world of fire. On the other hand, as the founder of Scandinavian institutions—"the Mars and Mohammed of the North"—Odin is simply a mortal of kingly rank, coming originally from some region lying to the east of the Hellespont. It is in this light that the "*Heimskringla*" presents him, and the Christian compiler of that work goes even farther in his attempt to rationalize the Odinic myth, translating Aesir, the name applied to Odin's attendant gods in Valhalla, into "Asia-men." Likewise, Saxo, anxious to see paganism left without ground to stand upon, concludes that Odin, a mere mortal, won divine honors for himself and his spouse, Frigga, by dint of magic.

To what degree the cynicism of prejudiced piety saw the truth, it would be unprofitable to speculate. The character which Odin, whether mortal or immortal, finally achieved in Scandinavian myth, is plain enough. He was the Alfadir who, the Northmen believed, knew all things, and who, in his character of All-father, would survive when this earth and all the lesser gods, or Aesir, had been swallowed up by time, to be regenerated according to the good or the evil that was in their nature; for the religion of Odin taught that the good would dwell in Gimli, or the golden, and the evil be doomed with cowards, liars, and deceivers, to remain in Nastroend, the low strand, in a dwelling made of serpents' bones. Before this final judgment, Odin was believed to look down on earth from his seat in Valaskjalf, learning all that happens there and in heaven from his ravens, who sit one on either side of his head and whisper into his ear. In the hall Valhalla, with its five hundred and forty gates, each wide enough to admit eight hundred men abreast, he received all brave and good men after their death, and there the slain warriors pursued the life they had loved best on earth, fought their battles over again, listened to the songs of past victories, and feasted together without sorrow or pain to disturb them. Odin was supposed to award his special favors to those warriors who brought gold, or other precious substances, with them to Valhalla, and who had led an active life and wandered far and wide; hence, the Northmen very early showed the greatest eagerness to gather

riches on their distant voyages. This was not so much for the sake of spending their wealth as in the hope of securing a welcome from the god whenever they might have to appear in his presence. Thus they often ordered their children or followers, on pain of severe punishment after death, to bury their riches with them; or they hid them away in places known only to themselves, in the idea that Odin, who saw everything that passed on earth, would approve of their deed and reward them accordingly. Odin was the warrior's god *par excellence,* the god of the thane, and the jarl, the ancestor of royal houses. Thor, the red-bearded, is a more rustic figure. As the god of the peasantry he was immensely popular in Norway and even in Sweden, and occupied as honored a position as Odin himself in the latter's own temple at Upsala. Thor, as the god of thunder and lightning, Frey, as the god of light and sunshine, and Njord, as the god of the sea, obviously personify natural forces. In this aspect they are thought by some writers to owe their place in the cult of the Northmen to the Shamanism of ancient Finland. Likewise the dwarfs, artful and hideous, and the terrible giants in which Scandinavian myth abounds, may be Finnish—only in another sense. They may, perhaps, represent Gothic caricatures of their enemy's heroes.

The life of the Northmen in earliest times centered in the village of numerous households, standing apart on their individual assignments of land, yet bound together by devotion to a sacred tree, the fetish of the community. Surrounding each village was the *mark,* a considerable stretch of forest and meadow, the use of which was common to the freemen of the village. Life was very simple and the wealth of the villager-peasant on a very modest scale, in days before sea-roving. "Ohthere," says Alfred the Great, "was for his country a rich man. He owned a number of deer, of reindeer, of cattle, of sheep, and of swine. Certain Finns paid him a tribute in hides of sheep, otters, bears, and reindeer; also in plumes, ropes, copper, and whalebone." This was in the ninth century. A hundred years later possessions were of a greater variety and marked the advance of industry to an agricultural basis. There was also a quantity of the precious metals at hand, obtained, no doubt, by the pillaging expeditions in the south.

Political organization was loose. The villages cohered in a great number of small states or kingdoms, whose chieftains, smaakongar, and their immediate personal followers, were the noble

jarls, and were invariably, however remotely, of divine descent. The chieftain held his followers by an oath of personal fidelity, which carried with it the reciprocal obligations of blood-relationship. The chieftain must maintain his followers and share all booty with them. The followers must never desert their chieftain. If one suffered injury at the hands of an enemy, the other must wreak vengeance on the malefactor. If one was slain, the other must destroy the slayer, and as many of his following as possible. Innocence and helplessness were not spared; attack might be by night, and the offender and his might be burned alive in their dwellings. The small kingdoms waged unceasing war upon one another, and the markland, akin to the village mark, which intervened between the petty states, was the scene of unending tumult and carnage. Battle and feast, indeed, supplied the joy of life; and of death, too, for that matter. For in Valhalla, as we have seen, the recriminations of battleax and battlehammer continued; at night the shades of the heroes seated at the banquet table recovered from the wounds of the day; but on the morrow the savage joust was renewed. Of course, in a country like Scandinavia, no part of which is remote from the sea, the general condition of warfare on land meant piracy on the water. The original Vikings, or *Vikingar,* were sea-robbers, rather than sea-rovers. Lying in wait in any of the innumerable *viks* or bays that fringed the coasts of their land, these Vikingar would dart out in their barks to waylay and plunder one another.

These anarchic conditions prevailed to the fullest extent till the sixth century. But just because of them, between that date and the beginning of the tenth century, Scandinavia was undergoing great changes. The weaker chieftains were succumbing to the stronger, and real kingdoms were arising. Internally, better order was asserting itself; the feud was giving way to the better defined and less promiscuous blood feud, and this in turn to the practice of compounding with money and goods for injuries inflicted—the Wergild. At the same time the piratical crafts of innumerable small chieftains were consolidating into the considerable fleets of great leaders, who were willing to venture over seas on grand enterprises against the nations to the south. This is the age of the Vikings, the real sea-rovers. The story of the foundation of the Scandinavian monarchies will be told in connection with the history of Denmark and of Norway and Sweden, and in the same connection, the achieve-

ments of particular Viking leaders will be recited; we may, however, at the moment, consider in a general way the spirit or moral disposition of the northern invaders of the south, the motives that prompted their enterprises, and the results that came out of them for the Northmen themselves.

What were the motives that impelled the Northmen to their enterprise? An expanding population at home in the face of an inefficient agriculture, taken together with the growing discontent of the jarls at the developing monarchies, may have suggested the idea of following the example of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, and of seeking a home in regions outside Scandinavia. The idea of settlement, however, was comparatively late and arose out of the earlier expeditions, rather than caused them. The love which for a long time the early Northmen bore to their homes and to the religious customs and social habits of their country brought them, at the end of the short summer's cruise, back to the north, where they spent the winter months in repairing their shattered barks, collecting fresh crews, planning new expeditions, and feasting among their kindred upon the rich plunder they had made on their latest voyage.

Some writers, reluctant to look upon the Vikings, who possessed so much innate nobility, as mere pirates, have ascribed to their raids the character of a pagan crusade, to which the worshipers of Odin were startled by Charlemagne's attempt to Christianize Saxony by fire and sword. This motive, too, may have been present, but it was comparatively weak and never rose to distinct conscious expression. What the Viking sought was treasure. The amassing of treasure was, as we have seen, the one great service to Odin. The whole plot of the "*Nibelungenlied*" turns on the possession of a mighty treasure, whose acquisition is of the character of a religious duty, calling for heroic sacrifice; the cosmology of the Edda gives an important place to the treasures of the earth; a northern myth represents gold as a witch, whom the gods sought to burn, but only made more attractive by refining it. Thus, the Vikings visited the British coasts and sailed up the French rivers primarily for the purpose of pillage, but to pillage was a labor invested with religious sanction and bearing the approval of the Viking Alfadir.

The dragon ship, rimmed round with battle shields and feeling its way through the fogs and mists of the north, well symbolizes

the mingled gloom and heroism of the Viking. The Viking was courageous in battle beyond all description, but attending his courage was a deceit and treachery to the foe that knew no ruth. His love of carnage amounted actually to spiritual exaltation.

"We hewed with swords. We reddened our swords far and wide. It was not like love play when we were splitting helms. Mighty was the onset. High rose the noise of spears. . . . They hewed with their axes. . . . Through the morning they fought, through the first watches and till afternoon. The field was aswim with blood."

Slaughter had to the Scandinavian mind even something of humor about it. We hear of one of the leader's receiving the epithet Börn—"Child"—because he had been so tender-hearted as to try to stop the sport of his followers, who were tossing young children into the air and catching them on their spears.

The dominant intellectual mood of the Vikings, however, was not humor; rather it was the gloom of fatalism, tinged with religious devotion. They felt the pathos of the brevity of life as compared with a great will to achieve. Said the Northumbrian chieftain: "O King, what is this life of man? Is it not as a sparrow's flight through the hall when one sits at meat of an evening in wintertide? Within is light and warmth and song; without cold, darkness, and icy rain. Then the sparrow flies in at one door, tarries a moment in the warmth, and then, flying forth from the other door, vanishes again into the dark. Such, O King, seems the life of man." Yet the fact that life is transient does not lessen the duty of effort, rather it enjoins it. Says Beowulf, about to encounter the monster Grendel: "Each man must abide the end of his lifework; then let him that may work, work his doomed deeds ere night come." Though in the end heroes, demons, and gods, all except Odin, will go down before the powers of evil, the noble soul will strive, unfaltering and undismayed. Says the dying Beowulf: "Time's changes and chances I have abided; held my own fairly. . . . So, for all this may I glad be at heart now, sick though I sit here, wounded with death-wounds!" "Life was built not on the hope of a hereafter, but on the proud self-consciousness of noble souls."

The expeditions of the Vikings proceeded over seas in all directions: to the east the Swedes entered Russia, to the west the Norse founded precarious establishments on the coast of Ireland,

made settlements in the Orkneys and Shetland, and discovered Iceland, Greenland, and North America; to the south Danish and Norse expeditions entered French, Spanish, and Italian rivers, penetrated from Gaul to Seville, burned an Italian town which they mistook for the capital of Christendom, and, in short, prolonged the barbarian invasions for four centuries. At first the incursions of armed bands, these expeditions finally took on the character of occupations. They then ceased to be a menace to Christianity and civilization. This final period is marked by the Treaty of Wedmore of 879, by which King Alfred handed over northern England to the Danes, under Guthrum, and by so doing freed the more civilized south from further danger, and by the Treaty of Clair-sur-Epte of 911, by which Charles the Simple granted the Norseman Rolf (Rollo) and his followers all the lands from the Epte to the sea, the original foundation of Normandy.

The chief result of the Viking expeditions for the north was to open again the communication with Christian Europe which the withdrawal of the Angles and Saxons to the British Isles and the approach of the Slavs to the Elbe had interrupted in the sixth century, and the first great result of this renewed communication was the conversion of the north to Christianity.

Chapter III

THE EMERGENCE OF DENMARK. 70 B.C.-936 A.D.

THE numerous small kingdoms of Danes at the beginning of the age of the Vikings fell into two groups, if we are to believe the English and French chroniclers: the Ostmanni, who were harrying the British coasts, and the Danes of Jutland, who were troubling the French realm, or, more shortly, the insular and continental Danes. Before we begin to discuss the history of Denmark, we must turn to the map of Europe and note the position of the lands respectively occupied by these two groups. The Reid-Gotaland of the Northmen, that is, the territories of the western or continental Danes, were included in the long, narrow strip of land which runs almost due north from the mouth of the Elbe to about 57° 45′ north latitude, where it terminates, at the extremity of Jutland, in a sharp point of land known as the Skage. This horn-like projection of the German continent, which separates the German Ocean from the Cattegat and the smaller channels of the Baltic, was the Chersonesus Cimbrica of the Romans, and now includes Holstein, Slesvig, and Jutland. The Ey-Gotaland of the Northmen, which was occupied by the eastern or insular Danes, is composed of that group of islands between Sweden and continental Denmark which we know under the names of Sjaelland, Funen or Fyen, Laaland, Falster, Langeland; also, the provinces of Skaania and Bleking, on the eastern or Swedish side of the Sound, for these, in early times, formed part of the Danish monarchy; and for many ages after the introduction of Christianity, Lund, the chief town of Skaania, was the see of the primate of Denmark.

Every one of these names tells the character of the country. Denmark, meaning the darkly-wooded land, reveals the fact that once the land was densely covered with somber firs. Skaania took its name from its numerous moors and morasses, *skaun* being a moor, in old northern; Bleking, which lies along the sea, from *blek,* a smooth beach; Laaland, from *lav,* low; Sjaelland, from

sjoe or *soe,* the sea; Langeland, from *lange,* long; all these names thus showing the nature or position of the land.

According to Saxo Grammaticus, however, Denmark takes its name from Dan Mykillati, or the Famous, who is reported to have held sway in Jutland more than two centuries before Rome was founded and nearly a millennium before Odin appeared in the north.[1]

This latter event occurred about 70 B. C. Odin was followed by Skiold, the second of the Skioldung dynasty, which made Leire

in Sjaelland the seat of its authority. In 270 A. D. a namesake of Dan Mykillati ascends the throne, and is credited with having made many of the petty monarchs round about tributary. Herein he emulated his predecessor of the same name, so that one suspects a case of mistaken identity. Next comes Frode the Peaceful, or perhaps Peacemaker, since he is said to have subdued two hundred and twenty-five neighboring monarchs and to have held rule eventually from Russia to the Rhine. He was also very brisk with thieves, and was finally able to leave his golden armlets by the wayside, as a sort of tantalizing challenge to terror-stricken cu-

[1] *Vide* Suhm's Calculations: "History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway," S. A. Dunham, 1839. Vol. I., pp. 63-64, note.

pidity, as he journeyed through his kingdom to hear and compose all causes of dispute among his people.

Frode's fame, however, is quite eclipsed by that of Stoerkodder, the northern Herakles, who had giant forefathers and was so hugely strong that it was quite impossible for anyone to contend with him safely. Indeed, according to the legend, he never would have been overcome, even after old age had lessened his strength, had he not in early life treacherously slain his friend and brother-in-arms, the brave Hother. The remembrance of this act so weakened his arm that, when, in later years, the son of the murdered man attacked him, he was unable to defend himself and soon fell beneath the blows of his foeman. This hero is rather a demi-god than a mortal, for he is heard of again and again in northern history, for nearly three hundred years, and, like Odin himself, only disappears after the battle of Bravalla. Rolf Krake ranks as a model of all the kingly virtues esteemed in ancient times and as a pattern of royal generosity and dignity. His valor, goodness, and justice attracted the most renowned Vikings, skalds, and strangers to his court at Leire, and he was so much beloved by his own men that, after he was treacherously slain by Hjartvar, one of the smaa-kongar, who paid him tribute, all his faithful attendants, excepting one, followed him in death. This one, Vögg by name, remained behind to revenge his leader. When, therefore, the usurper extended his sword to Vögg to receive his pledge of fidelity, the latter wrenched away the weapon and plunged it into Hjartvar's heart. He then met his own death at the hands of the men of Oeland, without uttering a cry or flinching a step. With Rolf fell also his twelve "Berserker," the bravest of the brave, taking their name from a practice they had of working themselves up into a frenzy of rage before a battle, in the course of which, oblivious alike of heat or cold, they usually stripped themselves down to their bare sarks, and went furiously plunging at everything in sight, the "*berserker-gang*."

Like the ancient Greeks, the Northmen had a battle-plain on which, according to their best-loved myths, their gods and goddesses shared the fortunes of war with mortal warriors. Scandinavia's Troy was in East Gothland, at Bravalla, near the River Braa. Here, within sight of the hostile fleets that lay moored in the Baltic, gods and men are said to have mingled in combat as terrible as ever Homer's imagination was able to invent. The battle of Bravalla,

sung alike by Swedish and Danish skalds, was fought between Harald Hildetand of Denmark and his young kinsman, Sigurd Ring, third of the Swedish Skioldungs, about the year 750 A. D.

Immense preparations for the fight were made on both sides. While Harald's fleet stretched from Sjaelland, or Zealand, across the Sound far up the coast of Sweden, young Sigurd sailed out of the harbor of Stocksund at the head of two thousand five hundred ships. Odin, who had long held aloof from terrestrial concerns, seeing all this vast array, and hearing from his ravens that Frisians, Wends, Finns, Lapps, Danes, Saxons, Jutes, Goths, and Swedes were flocking toward the field of Bravalla to take part in this great battle for the mastery of the north, resolved to have a hand in the *mêlée*. Springing to the chariot of the aged and blind Harald, the god carried him into the midst of the fight and slew him with his own battleax. Harald, who had recognized the hand which guided his chariot so firmly through the ranks of the foe, had implored the god not to forsake his faithful Danes in this hour of their peril, but Odin's reply had been that he himself had taught the secret of victory to the young Sigurd Ring. Then the aged Danish king knew that all was over; for till that moment he alone of all living men had known the art of ranging his army in the wedge-shaped form which he had learned in early youth from Odin, and which, as he had often proved, always brought victory with it. The dead lay heaped in huge piles when that day's fight was done, and as the chariots of the victors passed from the field, the bodies of the slain which fringed the narrow road reached to the axle of the wheels. Only nobles were counted among the dead, but of these there were twelve thousand of Ring's army and thirty thousand Danes.

The account of this great battle ends with the relation of the manner in which young Sigurd Ring honored the memory of his fallen foe, whose remains he had burned with great pomp and ceremony in the presence of both the armies, while he himself fed the burning pile by throwing into the flames Harald's weapons and many golden and silver ornaments which he had gathered in the course of his Viking expeditions.

Sigurd Ring is a very shadowy figure, most of whose attributes and achievements are borrowed from Knud the Great. His son, Regner Lodbrog, or Leather-Leggings, so called from the precaution that he took while attempting to gain access to the serpent-

guarded bower of his Gothic princess, is, on the other hand, considerable of a personality. The greatest difficulty in regard to his history is that, while the Danes speak of him as living in one century, the Anglo-Saxons, among whom he often appeared, give a different date for the very events that the Danish writers describe. After a long course of roving, Regner of the Leather Leggings met his death at the hands of Aella, King of Northumbria, who caused him to be thrown into a pit filled with adders, since he would declare neither his name nor the cause of his appearance on the Northumbrian coast. Regner bore the torments of his slow death without murmur, simply remarking that "the young pigs at home would grunt loudly when they found out what had become of the old boar, their father." According to the sagas, his sons certainly did raise a clamor when they heard of the death their father had suffered, and never rested till they had taken a yet more cruel revenge on Aella.

Landing in Northumbria, some years later, with a large fleet and a great number of other Vikings, they overran and pillaged the country, took the king captive and killed him by cutting open his breast, tearing out his heart, and by carving the figure of an outspread eagle on his back, shoulders, and loins. After thus realizing their vengeance the sons of Regner are said to have divided Aella's territories and cast lots for their father's many lands, Ivar Benlos taking Northumbria, Hvitsek, Jutland; Björn, Sweden; and Sigurd, Skaania and the Danish Islands. Anglo-Saxon writers record an invasion a century later by Danish Vikings, or Sea-Kings, as they were often called, among whom we meet with the same names; but they do not seem to know that the coming of their unwelcome guests had any other motive than the usual one of pillage; so that here, as in many other instances, it is altogether impossible to reconcile the accounts given by northern and English authorities in regard to the same persons and events. Truth and falsehood seem to be so intimately mingled in the early history of the Danes and chronology so thoroughly set at defiance, that it is hopeless to attempt to make the narrative that Saxo gives us accord with accounts of alien chroniclers.

The real history of Denmark begins when political consolidation has gone far enough to afford leaders of veritable military expeditions against the Frankish monarchy to the south. Such a leader was Gorm den Gamle, the Old, 860-936, of whom the

Frankish chroniclers have much to tell. Gorm is said to have been the son of a Norwegian chief of royal descent, Hardegon, or Hardeknud, as some give his name, a fierce pagan warrior, who, wishing to better his fortune, had looked about him to see where there was a small kingdom to be gained by fighting for it. Luckily for himself he made choice of Leire, also called Ledra, in the fruitful Danish Island of Sjaelland. The country was in a worse state than usual, which is saying a good deal, and Hardegon did not find it a difficult task to make himself master of it and to turn out the rightful king, young Siegric, who had only just recovered his throne from two earlier usurpers.

The people seem to have been content with Hardegon and when he died received his son, Gorm, as their king, as a matter of course.

If Leire had been only a small kingdom, like the many others states belonging to the smaa-kongar of the Danish Isles, Gorm might never, perhaps, have been heard of in history, and, certainly, would not have found it so easy to make himself king of all Denmark. On the contrary, however, it was looked upon as one of the most sacred spots in the north, for it was there that great sacrifices to Odin were offered at yule-tide, or, as some writers say, in early spring. At one or the other of these seasons the worshipers of the Alfadir came from every part of the north of Europe to participate in the ceremonies that were due and to offer gifts of silver and gold, precious stones, and costly stuffs to the twelve high priests of whom the King of Leire was always the chief. Such offerings as these could, of course, only be made by the very richest men, that is, by those chiefs who had been attended by the greatest fortune on their pillaging expeditions against the people of Gaul, Germany, and Italy. But all persons, whether poor or rich, were expected to bring to Odin's temple a horse, or a dog, or a cock, for these animals were counted sacred to him, and were killed in large numbers to do him honor at his yearly festivals.

Every ninth year, moreover, still more solemn services were enacted, the culminating solemnity being, oftentimes, a human sacrifice.

Thus young Gorm, from being merely brave, clever, and ambitious, was able, by virtue of his post as chief pontiff, to become wealthy also, and to extend his dominions beyond the boundaries that his father had established.

Before the close of his reign he had become king of all Denmark; not merely the ruler of a small kingdom, but the one monarch of Jutland, Slesvig, part of Holstein, Sjaelland, Fyen, Falster, Laaland, and all the many other islands occupied by the Danes between Germany and Sweden. Moreover, he controlled some portions of Norway and the Swedish provinces of Bleking and Skaania, which continued for several hundred years after his time to be a part of Denmark. How he transformed his small state into a great kingdom no one knows. The writers of Danish history say that he did it by buying one bit of land, bartering for another, seizing upon one district and getting another given to him, and so on, but this does not make his success very clear to us. We know only this much, that Gorm the Old, who began life as the landless son of a poor, although nobly born Norwegian sea-rover, ended his days as king of a Denmark which was larger in that age than the Denmark of our own times, and that a part of his good fortune is to be ascribed to the union in his own person of the functions of priest and king over a district important to pagan Scandinavia.

The tale of his achievements as a Viking is more circumstantial. He went early on a cruise along the coasts of the Baltic and even joined some of his countrymen in a hostile incursion into Garderike or Russia, where they had made their way to Smolensk and Kiev, pillaging and conquering as they went. Next we hear of him in the year 882 in Germany, where he was one of the chief captains of a band of daring Northmen who had entrenched themselves at a place called Aschloo on the River Maas. From this place they sallied forth and laid waste everything far and near, setting fire to Maestricht, Louvaine, and Tongern, from whose ruins their course might be tracked by the barren fields and burned homesteads on the roads to Julich and Aix-la-Chapelle. At the latter place they stalled their horses in the beautiful chapel where the great Charlemagne lay buried, and carried off the gilded and silvered railings that inclosed his tomb. Nor would a fragment of gold or silver, a single precious stone, or a shred of costly silken or linen fabric have escaped had not the terrified monks proved themselves very expert in secreting every bit of plate, every ornamental, hand-written book, and every vestment that they owned.

When Gorm and his associates had taken charge of all they could lay their hands on at Aix-la-Chapelle, they pillaged and burned the monasteries of Prün, Stablo, and Malmedy, killed or

made captive some of the monks, and boldly bade defiance to the army which advanced toward Aschloo to destroy their entrenchments. The emperor, Charles the Fat, had brought an enormous array of Frankish, Bavarian, Suabian, and Saxon troops against them. But, in the face of this overwhelming force, the Danes were able to persuade the emperor, on their promising that they would be baptized, not to strike a blow against them, but to pay them two thousand pounds of silver and gold. Having found how easy it was to blackmail his imperial highness, the Vikings simply repeated their tactics from time to time, remaining in safe quarters till they had secured such a large booty that it required two hundred ships to carry it away.

Viking expeditions into the realms of Charles the Fat now became an extremely popular enterprise with the Danes, for Charles, with a fine instinct of hospitality, presently enacted that anyone who killed a Northman should have his eyes put out, or even forfeit his life. The Danes were at first hardly able to credit the news of this marvelous piece of legislation, but as events convinced them of its truth, their insolence became unmeasured; twelve thousand pounds of silver now became the price of a very short peace. Finally, in the autumn of 885 A. D. Gorm and another great Viking leader, Siegfried, appeared before Paris with 700 vessels and 40,000 men. Passage up the Seine being refused them, they laid siege to the city for fifteen months, the unfortunate Parisians having been left to their own resources by their tardy and pusillanimous emperor. At last, in October, 886, Charles the Fat arrived with a great array; not to incur the perils of battle, however, but to follow once more the unhappy precedents of the previous years. In March, 887, the Vikings received seven hundred pounds of silver and withdrew.

In the meantime, French and Germans alike had grown weary of their feeble and ineffective rulers, and the latter had chosen a certain Arnulf king, while the election of the former had settled upon brave Count Odo of Paris, who had been the leader and mainstay of that city's resistance to the Northmen before Charles had arrived to lure the assailants away by a bribe. Their new rulers installed, affairs began to wear a different face. At the battle of Louvaine, in 891, the Northmen were thoroughly trounced by Arnulf, sixteen of their royal standards were captured, and their leader, Siegfried, was left on the field. The German chroniclers

assert that the waters of the River Dyle were red with the blood of hundreds of thousands of slain Northmen, while but one man was missing from the German ranks when Arnulf, with beat of drum, called together his troops after the battle to hear the priests chant a *Te Deum* in celebration of the victory. Gorm the Old, however, managed to escape with a remnant of the Northmen and eventually to make his way back to Denmark. It may be even conjectured that he was not greatly distressed at the timely taking off of rival leaders, since their failure made his success stand out the more sharply to followers, who demanded results of their leader, and since the field was cleared at home for the further expansion of his sway from Leire.

Chapter IV

CHRISTIANITY IN THE FAR NORTH. 700-1047

PERHAPS Charles the Fat's scrupulous demand that the pagan pillagers of his dominions should receive baptism, before he would hand over to them a Christian monarch's bribe, may be regarded as one step in the conversion of the Scandinavian north to Christianity. It was not, however, the first step.

Nearly two hundred years before, Willibrod, the Anglo-Saxon, had ventured on a mission even as far north as Jutland. Shortly before 800 Charlemagne, having completed the conquest of the Saxons, founded the bishopric of Bremen. But the real hero of Scandinavian Christianity is Anscarius, the Apostle of the North.

Louis le Débonnaire, the Pious, the lugubrious-minded son and successor of Charlemagne, permitted his vast empire to fall rapidly into decay. One consequence of this sorry process, as well as accelerating cause, was the exposure of the Frankish realm to the incursions of the pagan Northmen, a late example of which we had in Gorm's expedition against Paris. Turning from his self-inflicted flagellations and penances to the more real woes of his people, Louis conceived the characteristic idea that the conquest of the invader should be by the cross, rather than by the sword. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, shared his monarch's views, and in an early year of the latter's reign, having secured the consent of the Pope, undertook in person to conduct a mission into the far north. Dismayed by the savagery of Slesvig, which was the remotest region into which he penetrated, he presently returned to his see, accompanied, however, by a royal proselyte named Harald Klak, who, together with his family and followers, when the imperial court was reached, swore at the altar of St. Alban's church in Mainz to abjure paganism and to forsake the devil and all his works, together with "all the works and words of the devil, Thor and Odin and all the ungodly ones who are their helpers." The converts then received baptism, the emperor himself and the empress, Judith, standing sponsors.

Upon the return of Harald to Jutland, which presently oc-

curred, Louis summoned a council of clergy and laymen to consider the problem of pushing to completion the work thus begun. For a long time, however, nothing was done, since no one could be found audacious enough to venture amid such terrible heathen, while the emperor, on the other hand, was determined that missionary service should be entirely voluntary, declaring that "in so great a work the laborers must go willingly and not because of compulsion." At last the emperor's cousin, Walo, abbot of Corvey, announced that he had discovered a young monk who was both willing and able to endure all hardships in the cause of Christ, who had long been blessed by holy dreams, and whose heart was set on the hope of earning for himself a martyr's crown of glory. "Send for this holy brother with all speed, good cousin," said Louis, when he heard this report. Accordingly, the young monk was brought before the emperor who eagerly equipped him for his perilous venture and showed him much honor.

Of noble origin, Anscarius seems to have been, nevertheless, a man of deep humility, for he is said to have scrupled always to demand of the monks, subject to his direction, any menial service without sharing the burden with them. Of his intrepidity of character there can be no doubt. In 827 he and a brother monk set sail for Slesvig, where, after undergoing many perils, they at last landed at Hedeby, and at once began the work of conversion by purchasing young slaves, probably captives of war, and baptizing them. Their success was, however, of short duration, for hardly had they reached Hedeby when their royal patron was dispossessed of his throne and forced to flee to Oldenburg, whither Anscarius and his companion were compelled to follow him, abandoning their converts to the tender mercies of the triumphant pagans.

Meanwhile, another opportunity presented itself for missionary labor in a yet more remote region than the one just closed to Christianity. In 829 Björn, King of the Upper Swedes, dispatched a letter composed in runic characters to the emperor, imploring him to send some Christian monks into Sweden. Anscarius immediately undertook the mission, accompanying a caravan of merchants on its way to the annual fair at Sigtuna. In its passage of the Baltic the party was attacked by pirates, who plundered them of most of their effects, including forty manuscript volumes of sacred literature, which the emperor had bestowed upon Anscarius and his associates, and finally put them on shore, sick, hungry, and

naked. In this wretched plight and not knowing a word of the language, they made their way across lakes that seemed to them vast seas, through forests infested with bears and wolves, and over snow-covered mountains, till they reached the port of Birka, where they were well received by King Björn and his people and allowed to preach and to baptize all who wished to become Christians. A rich Swedish noble even built a church for the converts, and Anscarius remained among the Svea for many months, converting and baptizing a great number of persons. As soon, however, as he went away, the new religion fell into neglect, and when, in 853, he returned to Sweden, although he was given permission by the Ting allra Göta, the diet of the Goths, to expound Christianity for a time, the people were so fearful of bringing down the wrath of their gods upon their own heads if they listened to the new doctrine that presently Anscarius found it well to depart; and for seventy years no Christian preacher appeared to challenge the right of Odin to the devotion of his worshipers.

Several years previous to this episode, however, the emperor, well pleased with the success of Anscarius's initial mission, had founded the archbishopric of Hamburg, including the entire north, and had elevated Anscarius to the metropolitanate. At the same time Gregory IV. made him Papal legate to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. At this period Hamburg was but a poor fishing hamlet set in a pagan region, so that the archiepiscopal palace was only a hut, the cathedral a shed, and the archbishop himself was forced to eke out the scant revenues of his see by making nets and sails. Nor was this all. For about 845 a fleet of pagan Danes sailed up the Elbe and applied the torch to Hamburg. Later, however, Anscarius ventured into the heart of the Danish country, meeting with considerable success. But for the most part, except for the journey to Sweden, already mentioned, he spent his declining years till his death in 865 at Bremen, which was now a part of his own see and which was fairly secure from Viking raids, "acquiring a stock of personal sanctity by those acts of self-mortification which in that age were considered so meritorious. He was canonized by Papal authority, festivals were instigated in honor of his memory, and churches built to perpetuate his name." [1] Also miraculous cures were ascribed to the virtues of his tomb.

Thus Christianity was carried into the far north. The sacrifice of the temple gave way to the incense of the cathedral. The

[1] Crichton and Wheaton, "Scandinavia," vol. I., p. 123.

good demons or elves of the pagan faith became Christian angels, the evil spirit Loki became Satan, the hammer of Thor, the god of thunder and of war, became identified with the cross of Christ, while Christ himself took the place of Balder, whom Loki had treacherously slain. But this was not all at once. There were numerous pagan reactions, resulting in the conflagration of churches and the slaughter of missionaries. The uncurbed Northmen girded at the restraints imposed by the new faith. A Christian could not be a Viking. He must renounce the right of private feud, polygamy, the exposure of the newly born; and submit to other retrenchments of previous license. This fact it is, rather than any great enthusiasm for pagan gods, which explains the opposition offered the Christian propaganda on the part of the jarls. On the other hand, the tenacity with which the peasantry, particularly of Norway, clung to the ancient beliefs must be regarded as genuine. Paganism was still a force to be reckoned with in the north, even in the last quarter of the eleventh century, when Adam of Bremen wrote.

Returning now to Gorm the Old, in connection with the general theme of the conversion of Scandinavia, we find that while his queen, Thyra, whose popularity with the people is indicated by the fond epithet Danebod, was Christian, Gorm, on the other hand, continued to the day of his death a staunch pagan, and, it would appear from Saxo Grammaticus, a relentless persecutor of the new faith, wherever he found it outside the four walls of the queen's chapel. He thus won the enmity of the chroniclers, who call him the " church's worm," and, what was more important, the hostility of Henry the Fowler, who seems to have wrested Slesvig from him and to have compelled him to admit Christian missionaries, among whom was Unni, Archbishop of Bremen, to his other dominions to restore the churches which he had allowed his pagan followers to destroy, and, lastly, to agree that Prince Harald should be *prim signed,* that is, signed with the cross, a rite which vested the person undergoing it with the benefits of the new faith without requiring apostasy to the old.

In 936 Gorm died from grief, it is said, for the death of his son Knud. He was succeeded by his son, Harald Blaatand, or Blue Tooth,[2] who was believed by the people to have been the

[2] Harald caused two grave mounds, one of 100 feet and the other of 50 feet in height, to be erected at Jellinge, in the district of Ribe in Jutland, in honor

murderer of his brother. It seems certain that Harald was of a cruel and crafty nature. Thus, when his nephew, Guld or Gold-Harald, demanded part of the kingdom in right of his father, Knud, Harald put him off by promising to help him conquer Norway. Afterward, having enticed the Norwegian king, Harald Graafell, to his court, on pretense of wishing to send cattle and corn into Norway, where there was a famine at the time, he induced Guld-Harald to slay him, but instead of fulfilling his promises to his nephew, he sent for the Norwegian traitor, Hakon Jarl, with whom he had formed a secret compact, and helped him to obtain Norway on condition that he should rule as a vassal to him of the Blue Tooth. Hakon Jarl at first paid the required taxes to Denmark and acknowledged Harald as sovereign in Norway, but when the Danish king, with characteristic treachery, refused to share with him, as he had promised to do, any of the treasure of Guld-Harald, who had now, also, met a violent death at his uncle's instigation, Hakon quarreled with him, and proceeded to make effective a declaration of independence.

Harald Blaatand was the first monarch of Denmark to profess Christianity openly. The initial circumstances of his conversion we have noted, but it was only toward the close of his reign that he allowed himself, together with his queen and his son Svend, to be publicly baptized by a German bishop, Poppo by name, who is reported by legend to have wrought some astounding miracles and thereby to have effected the conversion of a host of Danes. Harald very early removed his court from Leire, whose powerful pagan associations he discreetly decided not to combat, to Roeskilde, where he erected a cathedral to the Trinity. Soon after his baptism bishoprics were established at Aarhus, Ribe, and Slesvig. Under color of his imperial authority Otto I. granted charters to the prelates of these sees, conferring immunity from all payments and services to the Danish crown. Harald now determined to seize the episcopal lands, with the result that in 975 the emperor marched with a large army into Holstein, and through the treachery of Hakon Jarl, who had been called upon to aid the king, burned

of his father Gorm and his mother Thyra. This is recorded in runic letters upon a large stone that once stood on the lower mound, which is supposed to have enclosed the remains of the queen. These high mounds, which still exist, have been found to contain rooms, in which were stored away small silver and gilt cups and other things that might have been used by the king and queen in their everyday life.

the Dannevirke[3] and overran Slesvig and Jutland. Harald was forced to admit himself the emperor's tributary and to agree to leave the three bishops unmolested.

Svend, Harald's single surviving son, though he shared baptism with his parents, was at heart thoroughly devoted to the old worship. Like many another prince in those times he had been sent to a warrior of renown to receive his military training. It was from his tutor, Palnatoke, that Svend imbibed his paganism and his detestation of Christianity. The parent, however, was not to be outdone by the teacher, but planned, if we are to believe Saxo Grammaticus, a revenge, which because of its calculated cruelty has given rise to one of the most famous tales of folklore.

According to Saxo, one day, when Palnatoke was boasting before the king of his skill in archery, Harald told him that, for all his boasting, he was confident there was one shot which he would not venture to attempt. The latter replied that there was no shot which he would not venture; whereupon, the king ordered him to shoot an apple off the head of his eldest son, Aage. Palnatoke obeyed. The arrow entered the apple, and the boy escaped unhurt, but his father, enraged at this and other proofs of Harald's cruel treachery, became his sworn foe, withdrawing soon after to the little Island of Wollin, in Pomerania. He gathered round him a band of pagan Vikings and founded the brotherhood of Jomsborg, which for many years proved a frightful scourge to all the Christian lands adjoining the Baltic Sea, and reminds one for all the world of the West Indian piratical brotherhoods of the seventeenth century. Harald, after a long reign, during which he more than once carried ships and men to Normandy to aid the young Duke Richard against the French king, died in 985 from the effects of a wound which he received in battle with his pagan son Svend and Palnatoke. It is reported that Svend himself slew his father on the battlefield, while Palnatoke stood by. The old king's death did not, however, bring these men the good they had hoped from it. Instead, it stirred up strife between them, and to the end of his days Svend, called Tveskaeg or "Cleft beard," had no worse foes than Palnatoke and the men of Jomsborg.

[3] The Dannevirke, a strongly fortified wall, of earth and stone, was built at the order of Queen Thyra, in an interval of one of Gorm's Viking expeditions. It extended from the Selker Noer on the Slie to Hollingstad on the Treene, was from forty-five to seventy-five feet high, and took three years in building.

The reign of Svend Tveskaeg, "the Cleft Bearded," marks the beginning of Denmark's great period. Svend himself defeated the Swedes, Norwegians, and Wends, and as the Sweyn who invaded England he first compelled Ethelred the Unready to pay the Danegeld, then drove him from the land, making himself master of the greater part of England. His death occurred suddenly at Gainsborough, in 1014. His immediate successor was his younger son, Harald, who had reigned but four years, however, when his death brought another son, Knud, to the Danish throne.

Already in the year 1014 Knud, "armed with a thousand great ships," as Adam of Bremen has it, had crossed the sea to Britain, and by the year 1018 had effected the conquest of the English monarchy, and, as Canute the Great, had founded the short-lived line of Danish rulers of that country.

The story of this achievement belongs to English history; its results, however, were of immense importance to Denmark. At the time of Knud's accession, of his 800,000 Danish subjects, 400,000 were still pagans. A Christian himself, Knud caused the Christian religion to be made the faith of the nation and the remnants of the worship of Odin to be extirpated from all the provinces. In the settlement of the affairs of the church English bishops were set over the Danish clergy. In every way Knud showed his partiality for his Anglo-Saxon dominion, and his eager acceptance of its arts and civilization. Workmen of every trade were brought from England and made the tutors of the Danes. In short, Knud made Denmark a second England. Nor was the influence of Anglo-Saxon civilization restricted to Denmark. For Knud's successful wars in Sweden and Norway disseminated it throughout the entire north.

When King Knud died, in 1035, the master of six so-called kingdoms—namely England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Scotland, and Cumberland—he was not more than thirty-six. This was an early age at which to have made so many conquests, for Denmark was the only one of his states that he had not gained for himself by force of arms; and when we read of all that he did to improve the condition of his subjects, and of the quiet and order which reigned in England under him, we cannot wonder at the praise given to him by the writers of his time. Nor can we help sharing in the surprise which they express that a prince, who, like Knud, had been born a pagan and had grown to manhood

without receiving any instruction, should in so short a time have become so learned that, when he went to Rome to receive the Pope's benediction, his knowledge and wisdom were the admiration of all who saw him and spoke with him.

Unfortunately, however, none of Knud's sons possessed their father's genius, and in a few years the great empire that he had built up had utterly crumbled.

Norway, upon whose throne Knud's son, Svend, an arrogant youth of fifteen, had been placed in 1030, passed from Danish control without a struggle at the moment of Knud's death. In England Harald, known in English history as Harold Harefoot, succeeded his father, but died in 1039. His half-brother, Harthaknud, the son of Queen Emma, succeeded him, amid great acclaim from both Danes and Saxons. The high hopes thus raised were, however, soon disappointed. One of the young king's first cares was to reward the seamen of the ships which had conducted him from Holland to England at the time of his brother Harald's death, and he gave great displeasure to the Anglo-Saxons by demanding a sum of thirty-two thousand pounds of silver for the fleet and army. Danish soldiers were sent through the country to collect this tax, and the insolence with which these men performed their duty led to constant disturbances. The liberality which the king and his mother showed to the clergy, by bestowing numerous valuable estates on churches and monasteries to found masses for the soul of King Knud, increased the popular detestation in which they were held, although it secured them, in a measure, from ecclesiastical reproof and won over to their cause some of the highest prelates in the kingdom, who did not disdain to take part in some questionable courses at the command of their sovereign. Thus, when Harthaknud, immediately after his coronation, determined, upon his mother's advice, to give public proof of his hatred for his half-brother, King Harold Harefoot, he intrusted to Aelfric, Archbishop of York, the undignified office of going with the common executioner to disinter the body of Harald and see the head cut off and cast into the Thames—an act which gave great offense to the people of London.

Harthaknud made one effort to regain the good-will of his Anglo-Saxon subjects by a show of favor to the friends of the former princes. He even gave it out that he intended to mete justice out to the murderers of Aethaling-Aelfred, Ethelred the Unready's son. These excellent intentions proved abortive. The

king's threatening hand was stayed by a magnificent bribe in the shape of an armed vessel from the chief murderer himself, the rich and powerful Earl Godwine of English history. Upon Harthaknud's sudden death in 1042 Edward the Confessor restored the Anglo-Saxon line to the English throne.

By this event Norway was thrust into a position of temporary superiority to Denmark, for by a compact entered into between the late king and Magnus[4] the Good of Norway the territories of either prince were to fall to the survivor. Thus, in case Magnus had died first, the crown of Norway was to have gone to the king of England and Denmark, but now that he survived Harthaknud, he had the right to come forward and take the Danish throne. As soon, therefore, as the news of Harthaknud's death reached Norway, Magnus collected a fleet and sailed over to Denmark to advance his claims. The people, who knew him to be a just, although a severe, ruler, and who had no prince among them upon whom they cared to bestow the Danish crown, were content to accept him in spite of the strange way in which he had been foisted upon them; and so, for five years, from 1042 to 1047, Denmark was joined with Norway under the latter's king.

Magnus proved a good friend to young Svend, the nephew of Knud, whom he made jarl of Denmark. Svend, however, repaid his friendship with ingratitude and treachery, stirring up sedition, and finally even making war upon his patron. In a battle which ensued Svend was beaten, and seeing his best men scattered and routed, he took to flight, whereupon the king went in pursuit of him, but as Magnus was riding off the field a hare crossed his path and startled his horse; he was thrown to the ground, and so much injured by the fall that he died in a few hours. Before his death, however, he caused Svend to be brought before him, and rousing himself, he bade all present to bear witness that he restored all the rights to the crown of Denmark which he had received from the late King Harthaknud and that he chose his uncle, Harald, to rule over Norway after him. Magnus being much beloved by his subjects, both the Danes and Norwegians were willing to comply with his wishes, and thus, while Harald had to content himself with Norway, Svend, the nephew of Knud, became king of Denmark in 1047 and inaugurated the Estridsen line.

[4] A footnote in Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire," p. 78, eighth edition.

Chapter V

HARALD HAARFAGER AND SCANDINAVIAN EXPANSION. 863-1030

SWEDEN and Norway were very little known to the rest of the world before the beginning of the eleventh century. This may have been due to their greater distance from civilized lands or to the rigor of the climate, which closed their harbors for many months in the year and made those rugged parts of Scandinavia unattractive to strangers, or to both these things. The Danes were, in fact, for many ages the only one of the northern nations known to Christian Europe, and although it is very probable that Swedes, and after a time Norwegians also, took part in the great Danish invasions of England and of the Frankish empire, they were all included by the people of those countries under the common name of Northmen, or Danes. And, as all the three northern nations continued to speak the "*Dönsk tunga*" (Danish tongue), to follow the same forms of religion, and to evince the same spirit of ferocity, courage, and daring long after they had separated and formed distinct kingdoms, it is little wonder that foreigners supposed them to be only one people. This idea was, moreover, not essentially incorrect, for in spite of their divisions into Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, the Northmen were only one people, tracing their descent from the same common Gothic forefathers, who had come from the far East, and spread themselves over the islands and the most fruitful coastlands of the Baltic.

The Goths probably stayed in those more genial parts of Scandinavia as long as their leaders found space enough for themselves and their followers, but when their numbers increased, and "the small kings" began fighting among themselves and interfering with each other, the younger chiefs with the restlessness characteristic of their race set forth in search of new homes. Some such causes, it is believed, led to the settlement of the southern parts of Sweden by the Goths from Ey-Gotaland, or the Danish Islands.

In the old Swedish legends it is related that Odin founded

the empire of the Svea, and built a great temple at a spot called Sigtuna, near Lake Maelar, in the present province of Upland, which was known by the Northmen under the name of the "lesser Svithjod" to distinguish it from that "greater Svithjod," or Scythia, from which they believed that he had led his followers. According to the "*Heimskringla,*" when Odin arrived from the Hellespont with his twelve pontiffs he found that a great part of the land was occupied by a people who, like himself, had come from Svithjod, but in such long past ages that according to their own account no one could fix the time. These people, who called themselves "Göta," or "Gauta," Goths, and boasted that they had driven all the dwarfs, giants, and "Fenni" (the Finns and Lapps) of the country back into the mountains and dreary wastes, were so strong that Odin was forced to make a compact with their king, Gylfe, before he could settle in the land. But after these two great chiefs had proved each other's strength in a trial of magic, they lived together on friendly terms, and Sweden was thenceforth divided into the two free nations of the "Svea," Swedes, and the "Göta," Goths. The Svea were governed after Odin's demise by his pontiffs, who had charge of his temple at Sigtuna; and his tribe by degrees grew so much more powerful than the Göta that they were allowed to take the lead in all public matters, and their rulers were looked up to as chief kings by all the "smaa-kongar" of the Goths, as well as the Swedes. Some writers have offered the hypothesis that long after the first Gothic invaders brought his worship into Sweden, a second band of the same tribe came under a leader called by his name, who set up a newer form of faith which gained such hold over the minds of the people that in time they came to worship the two Odins under one common faith. Other scholars believe that they have found evidences of a blond race existing aboriginally in southern Norway. If this supposed discovery is to be relied upon, the legend of Odin and Gylfe may symbolize the union of this primitive people with the Gothic invaders. At any rate the legend records the fact that primitive Sweden falls into two geographical divisions: Gotaland and Svealand, the latter, the more northerly, being at first predominant.

Like the Danes, the Swedes traced the descent of their early kings back to Odin, through his successor in Sweden, the pontiff Njord, whose son Frey-Yngve was the founder of the royal race of the Ynglingar. We are told that this prince, who built a great

temple to Odin on the ruins of the more ancient one of Sigtuna, and called it Up-Sala (or the High Halls), was so much beloved by his subjects that when he died his family did not venture to proclaim his death lest tumult should arise among the Svea, but laid his body within a carefully built stone mound, to which they continued for three years to carry all the gifts and annual offerings of the people. They did not burn the body, according to their ancient custom, because it had been foretold that as long as Frey-Yngve stayed in Lesser Svithjod all would go well with the land; but when they found at the end of three years that the seasons continued to be good, they ventured to make known his death, and the people, in gratitude for all he had done for them on earth, placed him among their gods and prayed to him for peace and plenty.

Frey-Yngve was counted as the last of the gods. His descendants continued to rule over the Svea for several generations till enmity sprang up among the different members of the royal house. Then the Ynglingar lost all power over the small kings of Sweden through the evil deeds of one of their race, Ingjald Illraada, the "Bad Ruler," who drew upon himself the anger of the people by a deed of horror and treachery. He sent messengers to all those of his kinsmen who were "smaa-kongar," and begged that they would show their respect for the late king by attending the grave feast. Six of the small kings obeyed the summons, and were, according to ancient usage, invited to take their places on the high-seat at the end of the hall, which in the dwellings of the Northmen was always reserved for the master of the house and his most honored guests. Ingjald, as the giver of the feast, sat on a low stool at their feet, since it was not considered right for the heir to take his father's seat till the grave feast was over and the last toast had been drunk to the memory of the dead. When his turn came to drink from the *braga,* or "good-health" horn, he arose to his feet, and said he claimed the right of making a sacred vow before he drained the cup. Thereupon, the feast being over, he caused the six kings to be seized and burned alive, on the plea that the gods had constrained him to swear that he would sacrifice them all in memory of his father. The "Upsala Burning" did not go unavenged. In a second conflagration the king and his wicked daughter, Aasa, perished in the flames which they had themselves kindled to escape from the wrath of their enemies.

After these events the Svea would have no more of the Ynglingar for their kings, and Ingjald's children were driven out of the country. His eldest son Olaf, fearing the anger of the people, fled with a few companions beyond the mountains to the dense forests which then covered the border-land between the present Sweden and Norway, and began to clear the ground by burning the trees in order to make it fit for human habitation; from this, he became known as "Traetelje," or the Tree-hewer, and the land which he cleared was thenceforth called Vermland, in memory of his having warmed it by setting fire to the great forests. Like his father, Ingjald, this prince also met his death by fire; for when some years afterward his people suffered from famine, they laid the blame on Olaf and forced him to submit to be burned at the great sacrifice to Odin, in order that the god, in return for a royal victim, might avert the evil that had come upon them. Olaf's descendants passed over from Vermland into Norway and became the founders of that kingdom.

Such are the accounts given of the rise of the Swedish and Norwegian monarchies in the legend known as the Ynglinga Saga, which was written down by scribes in Iceland from the old songs brought over to that country by the early settlers and handed down by them to their children, and through them to later generations. This and other sagas, which related to the rise of the royal races of Sweden and Norway, were no doubt based on real events, which in the course of time became intermingled with fables. We owe our knowledge of them to King Harald Haarfager, who boasted of being an Ynglingar through his descent from Olaf Traetelje, the Tree-hewer, and who, during the course of his long reign over Norway between the years 863 and 933, had the sagas relating to his supposed ancestors collected and recited before his court.

The Swedes and the Norwegians retained their old faith much longer than the Danes, and the few glimpses which we catch from the sagas of their character and conduct in those early times evince small regard for human life. In Denmark human sacrifice was only very rarely practiced, but in Sweden, where they are said to have been enjoined as a religious duty by Frey-Yngve, the first of the Ynglingar race, they appear to have been very frequent. We even read of one Swedish king called Ane who tried to gain from Odin length of life from year to year by offering up one of his sons at each annual sacrifice to the god. According to this saga,

when nine of his children had thus been slain, the Svea, in spite of their dread of Odin and of the king who was his high priest, rose in anger against Ane, and saved the tenth and last of his sons from sharing the fate of his brothers.

Throughout all the north every king, as we have seen, was the pontiff or high priest of his people, and one of the most important and sacred of his duties was to offer annual sacrifices within the temples of his kingdom, an office which gave some of the northern kings greater power than others. Thus, in Denmark, as we have seen, where the chief temple to Odin was at Leire, or Ledra, in Sjaelland, Gorm, as the pontiff-king of that district, was looked up to by the neighboring small kings and enabled to secure a strong influence over them which helped him greatly in his efforts to make himself king of all Denmark. It was the same in Sweden, where the Ynglingar, who had charge of Odin's chief temple at Upsala, were, from the first, the leading kings of the country.

Likewise, the kings of Lund, in whose territories there was another important shrine, early made themselves the leading chieftains in Skaania. Indeed, one of these rulers, a certain Ivar Vidfadme, who is calculated to have lived in the seventh century, plays a great part in the sagas of the Icelanders, for he is said to have conquered Sweden and Denmark, a large portion of the lands of the Saxons, and one-fifth of all England. But, on the other hand, Saxo Grammaticus, the Danish historian, does not even mention his name among the rulers of Denmark, nor do Anglo-Saxon records make any reference to him. The Danes, however, speak of him as the grandfather of their King Harald Hildetand, of whose defeat in his old age by the young Swedish king, Sigurd Ring, at the battle of Bravalla, we have already spoken.

In this, as in other periods of northern history, the kings and heroes of Denmark and Sweden are so intermingled that it is often impossible to decide to which nation we must refer any one of them. The Danish and Icelandic sagas generally agree in making all great northern chiefs Danes or Norwegians, while the Swedes as often claim them for their own country. This is especially the case in regard to the favorite demi-god Stoerkodder, and to Regner of the Leather Leggings, whose numerous sons or grandsons ranked among the most daring of the Vikings of the ninth century. Another reason for our ignorance of Sweden's history in those early times is furnished, no doubt, by the fact that the Swedes, instead of fitting out

great fleets year after year, like the other Scandinavian nations, to attack the southern lands of Europe, turned their arms against the Finns, Lapps, and Wends, who lived north and east of them and whom they could reach by crossing the mountains and frozen gulfs which separated them from those remote tribes. Thus engrossed, they failed to establish contact with the more civilized nations of Europe, who hardly knew of their existence till the Middle Ages. In short, the history of Sweden is so confused and so shrouded in fable before the time of Erik Sejrsael, the Victorious, who died in 993, that it would be quite useless to try to give a continuous account even of what is imagined to have happened at any previous period.

The people of Sweden early gave the name of "Vanen," or Wends, to all nations living to the east of them, and they also called the Finnish tribes "Jötunar," which was the same word that they applied to the giants of their mythology. The Finns, on the other hand, have continued from ancient times till the present day to call the Russians "Wänälaiset" (Wends) and the Swedes "Ruotsalaiset" (Russians), from Roden or Rosen, the ancient name for the part of Sweden nearest southern Finland. This confusion of names renders it very difficult to follow the accounts of the wars and conquests which the Swedes are said to have made in early times among the Finns, Wends, and Russians. We know, however, that the greater number of the Varingjar who passed through Garderike, the present Russia, on their way to Miklagaard (Constantinople) were Swedes, while it was from the name Ruotsalaiset or Russians, which the older inhabitants gave them, that the country became known in aftertimes as Russia.

According to Russian chroniclers, it was in the year 859 that a band of the Varingjar or Varings, who had first come over the sea under a leader called Rurik, first appeared in Garderike, where they subdued all the Slavs and Finns whom they encountered on their march. After a time, however, these older inhabitants of Garderike took courage to attack the small number of strangers who were making themselves masters of their country, and drove them out. Rurik and his men, thereupon, made haste to follow their companions, who had pushed straight on toward Greece, and for the next two years Garderike was left clear of the Northmen. But at the end of that time the Slavs and Finns, having found that they were worse treated by their own chiefs than they had been by the

strangers, sent messengers into Greece to the Varingjar. "Our land is large," they said, "and blessed with everything good for man; all we need is order; come, then, be our princes and rule over us." On receiving this message, the Varingjar took counsel together, and it was decided that those among their number who wished to return to Garderike should cast lots to see whom Odin would choose to be leaders over the rest. The lot fell upon Rurik, who accordingly with his two brothers, Sineus and Truvor, their families, and a numerous band of followers left Miklagaard and returned into the land of the Slavs. Rurik chose the district now known to us as Novgorod, while the old land of the Slavs received the name Russia.

In the same age in which the Danes were hovering about the coasts of England, penetrating into the interior of Gaul and Germany, and the Swedes were making conquests in eastern Europe, the Norwegians, with an inborn love of adventure, were striking boldly out into seas where no European—and probably no human being—had ever yet dipped his oar.

After they had once begun their daring course of ocean voyages, they never rested till they had moored their barks on every island in the northern seas, and pushed their way beyond the northwestern limits of Europe to the New World. Before the close of the ninth century, while Alfred the Great was still ruling in England, the pagan Norwegians of whose country he had learned something through the narrative of the travelers, Ohthere and Wulfstan, had made settlements on every side of his kingdom, in Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, the Orkneys, Hebrides, and Shetland, and had discovered and peopled Iceland and the Faröe Islands, while ten years after Alfred's death the northeast of the present France had been seized upon by their countryman Rolf, whose descendants in the next century brought back to England the power of the Northmen from which Alfred hoped he had forever freed his kingdom.

The desire of the Norwegians to make new settlements for themselves in foreign lands during the latter half of the ninth century was much stimulated by the state of public affairs in their own country. In Norway, as in the other Scandinavian lands, the country had from the earliest times been divided into a great number of districts, ruled over by small kings, and having each a separate Thing or public assembly, and a certain number of barks

CONVERSION OF THE PAGAN DANES TO CHRISTIANITY UNDER CANUTE THE GREAT

Painting by A. Kampf

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and men-at-arms, with which to fight or to defend its own frontiers. Halfdan Svarte, a descendant of Olaf Traetelje, the "Tree-hewer," who lived in the middle of the ninth century, had conquered several of these petty chieftaincies and united them with his own in Vestfold. He also made some laws for his growing realm which have come down to us and by which their author plainly hoped to supersede the blood feud with the more orderly Wergild.[1] Chiefly, however, he is remarkable as the father of Harald Haarfager, "the beautiful haired," who succeeded Halfdan upon the latter's death by drowning in 863. Harald's rôle in Norwegian history is that of Gorm the Old in Danish history, but on the whole Harald's figure is much more definite than that of his contemporary. This does not mean, however, that legend has not attached itself to Harald's fame; for we are assured that prodigies foretold his greatness, that the giant Dofre instructed him in the art of warfare, and that at ten, his age when his father was drowned, he already possessed a prodigious number of accomplishments and titles to distinction. Somewhat later he resolved to make himself master of Norway, in proof whereof he took a solemn oath neither to cut nor comb his luxuriant yellow locks till he had subdued all the smaa-kongar of the land. According to one tale, Harald was moved to his vow by his love for the beautiful Gyda, who responded to his advances with a haughty refusal to consider marriage with any but a real monarch. A more plausible explanation is that of ambition, or of desire for revenge upon the neighboring chiefs for their treacherous attempt to parcel out among themselves Harald's dominions in his tender years. A great number of victorious battles, the dimensions of which have not shrunken with the lapse of time, made Harald supreme throughout Vermland and Tellemark, and drove the now thoroughly consternated smaa-kongar into confederation. The fate of Norway was decided in 872 by a great sea battle fought in Hafurstfjord, near present day Stavanger, where Harald absolutely shattered the fleet of his allied foes. He followed up his victory by imposing a heavy tax upon every district in Norway, and setting his own friends over the different small kingdoms with the title of jarls. The impartial severity with which the king and his officers caused good order to be enforced upon the rich and poor

[1] A fine or compensation, ranging in amount according to the stations of the parties and the injury inflicted, the payment of which freed the offender from any further obligation or payment.

SEATTLE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

alike enraged the old chiefs, and many of them declared that "rather than submit, like low-born churls, to rule and order, they would leave their country." Then it was that some of the noblest-born Norwegians, taking their families and followers with them, embarked on their ships, and after making solemn offerings to the gods of their fathers and calling down divine vengeance on the head of the impious innovator Harald, left their native land for good—as indeed it was in all senses of the term—and set sail in search of new homes.

One of the most noted of the Norwegian families who were driven from their native land at this period was that of Rögnvald, jarl of Maere, who, like Harald himself, claimed to be descended from the famous Sigurd Ring, conqueror of Denmark. When King Harald found that the jarl had not carried out against his own son Rolf the orders which he had received to punish piracy by death, he sent the princes Gudröd and Halfdan to invade Rögnvald's lands and drive his family from their home. The Jarl Rögnvald was slain in battle, and his eldest son Ejnar driven into exile, while the younger son, who had been the cause of the feud between the king and his family, was still absent from Norway on a Viking cruise. This youth, who on account of his great stature, which prevented any horse from carrying him, was known as Gaungo Rolf, or "the walking Rollo," was one of the most famous Vikings of his age and noted for the success with which he followed the old northern practice of *strand-hug*, or seizing by force from off the sea coastlands upon anything which he or his crews might want, and then going off to sea again with the booty. This institution Harald was determined to abolish wherever practicable. Accordingly, when Rolf, who did not know of the death of his father and the disgrace of his family, landed on the Island Vigen and began his old habit of using strand-hug, he was seized by orders of the king and brought before the Thing to be condemned as an outlaw. Rolf's mother and friends offered large sums of money to appease his anger, but to no purpose, and the young man, seeing that Harald would not pardon him or allow him to remain in Norway, set forth in search of a home elsewhere. The Icelandic sagas tell us that, having crossed the sea, he went in 876 to Walland (Gaul), where he carried on war against the king, and at last gained for himself a great jarldom which he filled with Northmen and which on that account was called Normandiet or Normandy.

"From this stock came the jarls of Normandy, and, in course of time, also the kings of England, for Rolf's son William was the father of Richard, and this Richard had a son of his own name whose son Rolf, or Robert, was the father of William the Conqueror of England."

According to northern traditions the Danes had as early as the fifth century made settlements in Scotland, but the Norwegians did not attack the country in any large numbers till the reign of Harald. In Ireland the northern Vikings were known under the name of "Lochlanach," and the lands from which they came under

that of "Lochlin." The Irish annals record the arrival in 852 of an "Olauf, King of Lochlin," to whom all the Northern Gât, or Strangers, submitted. He reigned in Dublin, while two other northern chiefs, Ivar and Sigtrygg, made small kingdoms for themselves at Waterford and Limerick. The descendants of the Vikings continued, with many vicissitudes, to rule over those parts of Ireland till 1172, when the island was invaded by the English. Even long after that time the former presence of the Northmen, or "Eastmen," as they were then called, could be traced in the laws and usages and the appearance of the people of those districts. More intimately connected with the history of the Scandinavian

peoples is the story of how Harald Haarfager's stern rule, by driving so many of his subjects forth in search of new homes, led to the discovery of Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland.

Iceland was first visited by a Swede, called Gardar, by a Norwegian Nadod, who named the country Snaeland (Snowland), and by another Norwegian known as Floki Rafn, who gave the island its present name. These three men all landed in Iceland between the years 861 and 868, and even passed many months at a time there, but it is not certain who among them had the distinction to precede the others. On their return to Scandinavia they gave a dreadful account of the land, which according to their report had been cursed by the gods, and given over to the power of horrible giants who lived within caves and mountains where they kept up a never-ending strife in the midst of liquid fire, boiling water, and melting rocks. After this report some years passed before anyone cared to venture upon another visit to a country of which such an alarming account could be given; but when men began to feel the weight of Harald's harsh rule in Norway, they remembered that Floki's companions had not thought so badly of the new land to the west as Floki had pretended to. Some of the old Vikings indeed declared that any land must be better than the kingdom over which a Harald Haarfager ruled, while many of the poorer men in Norway said that they did not care for the mountain giants, if only they might reach a spot where neither king nor jarl could lay hands upon them. So all who were able set sail in search of this free land in the far north of which they knew so little.

One of the most important of the expeditions fitted out was that headed by Ingolf, the son of a Norwegian jarl, who had slain his foe in a deadly combat known as *holmgang*,[2] and who, finding that King Harald meant to punish him according to the law, embarked with all his family and household slaves, reaching Iceland late in the autumn of the year 874. The moment land hove into view, Ingolf cast into the sea the consecrated posts of his Norwegian house, vowing that he would make his home wherever the

[2] Holmgang meant a fight on an island (Holm), and this mode of fighting was one of the most fatal practiced by the Northmen. When two men wanted to settle a quarrel by fighting, it was the custom in the Scandinavian lands for them to go to some small and deserted island where they might be free from interruption, and they often fought with such fury that both died from the wounds which they had given each other. Thus a holmgang came to be looked upon as the fiercest of all single combats.

waves and winds should cast them ashore. They drifted away, however, and for three years Ingolf, attended by his slaves, continued to seek for them, until at length the sacred door posts were found in a bay on the southwest of the island, where he fixed his abode, and began to build houses on the spot which, as Reykiavik, is to-day the chief town of Iceland. Ingolf may thus rank as the first settler on the island, but he was soon followed by so many other Norwegians of noble birth that in the course of a few years all the habitable parts of Iceland had been peopled by them and their followers, bringing with them to this new colony the usages and laws, the religion and language of the old country.

Among the many sagas of Norway, there is one called the Eyrbyggja Saga, to which it is worth while to refer for the light it throws on certain contemporary northern customs. Jarl Thorolf-Mostrar-Skegg went to Iceland in 880, an outlaw, because he had refused to give up to the king's officer his piratical kinsman, Björn. Acting in accordance with the usages practiced in such cases by all great Norwegian settlers, he carried with him when he sailed from Norway with his family and slaves the image of the god Thor and the earth on which it had stood, together with the greater part of the woodwork of the shrine in which he had worshiped in his home. Many friends followed him, and when the vessels drew near to the coasts of Iceland, Thorolf, as pontiff or chief priest of all who had come with him, threw into the sea the columns of the temple on which the image of Thor was carved, and following these sacred objects they entered a bay which from its breadth he called "Breida-Fjord." Here Thorolf landed and took formal possession of the country by walking round the lands he meant to occupy, and setting fire to the grass along the boundary line by means of a burning brand which he bore with him. He then built a large house with a shrine near it to receive the sacred columns, together with Thor's image and the consecrated earth that he had brought from Norway. In the middle of the temple was a sanctuary or altar, on which was placed a silver ring two pounds in weight, which was worn by the pontiff at all public meetings of the people of his district and was used to furnish the necessary sanction to an oath, so that the person who perjured himself after swearing upon Thor's ring was looked upon by the Northmen as the vilest of men.

When Thorolf had provided his shrine with these sacred ob-

jects and with the basins, knives, and other instruments used for making the sacrifices, he prepared niches in the walls of the building for the images of any other northern gods that the people might wish to set up for worship. Next he caused the space around the temple to be enclosed by rows of stones to prepare it for the annual Herjar-Thing, or assize or assembly of the chiefs, which according to the old northern usage was held in the open air within sight and sound of the sacrifices. The ground on which the members of the Thing held these meetings was considered as sacred as that on which the temple stood, and was not to be defiled by the shedding of blood in anger nor trodden by the feet of men carrying arms. In the center of the enclosure one spot was raised above the surrounding area. Here the jurors, witnesses, and compurgators were to stand forth on the occasion of a trial and to take a solemn oath in the presence of all that they would decide and speak according to truth, adding "so help me Frey, Njord, Thor, and the Almighty As [Odin]."[3]

When Thorolf had thus prepared all things to the end that religion and the laws might be observed in the new country, he divided the colony into three districts which owned him for head pontiff, but were ruled over by separate chiefs, each of whom within his own limits performed much the same ceremonial that Thorolf had performed for the whole island. The mode of government thus set up was long followed and may even at the present day be traced in some matters appertaining to the administration of the laws of Iceland.

In the space of sixty years after Thorolf's coming to Iceland all habitable parts of the island were occupied by settlers from Norway. After a time the pontiff chiefs found inconvenient the lack of a common high court of law, to which they could appeal in case of disputes, and determined to remedy the evil. They therefore agreed to defer to the wisdom of a certain Ulfljot, a wise and hon-

[3] The Aesir (singular As, God) were fabled to have lived in "Asgaard" (Heaven), whence they crossed the bridge "Bifrost" (Rainbow) to reach "Midgaard" (the Earth). Beyond the sea which encircled Midgaard lay Jötunheim or the Giant's Dwelling-place. The Aesir were happy and at peace till they made acquaintance with the giants and giantesses of Jötunheim, when their golden age passed away. Odin cast his spear out in the midst of the world and war began. The Aesir fought with the Vanen (Wends) and finding them too strong to be subdued, they made peace with them and took Njord and his son Frey to be their equals in Asgaard, the former to rule over the sea and the winds and the latter over peace and plenty.

est chieftain, whom they begged, as he valued the peace and happiness of Iceland, to return to Norway and learn what were the laws and usages of their forefathers. Ulfljot accepted the charge, and although he was then sixty years of age, left his home and family and undertook the voyage to Norway, where he remained from the year 925 till 928, spending those three years in the study of the laws and in committing to writing all that Thorleif the Wise, a man skilled in ancient law, could tell him. He then came back to Iceland and began to prepare a code of laws which were read to the people at an All-Thing or general parliament and approved. For three hundred years after its settlement Iceland was a republic, but it was not a peaceful country, for both before and after the introduction of Christianity the chiefs waged incessant war upon each other, and few men living on the island were left to enjoy their own in quiet. Iceland had been settled by men who could not endure the sway of a single unified sovereign or respect the rank of king or jarl, but within a few generations the descendants of these very men were harassed by a multitude of masters and saw their equals striving for more power than any king or jarl had ever dreamed of exercising in the old country. The desire to escape the control of law long continued to drive restless men over seas, especially as in the contest between paganism and Christianity which was joined in Norway in the later tenth century, the monarchs espoused the relatively unpopular cause of the new religion. Erik Raudi, or the Red, son of Thorwald Jarl, having been made an outlaw both in Norway and in Iceland on account of a murder, set sail in search of some region where he might dwell in impunity. In the course of his cruising in the northern seas he came to a land which he named "Greenland," in the hope, perhaps, of making others believe that it was a fruitful country. This discovery was made in 983. A few years later Erik induced a number of Icelanders, who, like him, were tired of living in a land where laws were enforced, to join him in the new country. The intention of those, however, who hoped to make Greenland a stronghold of paganism was defeated. For Erik's son Leif, who in early youth had served under King Olaf Trygvasson, had become a Christian. On the death of the king, Leif determined to convert his father's new colony, and in the year 1000 came back to Greenland, bringing with him several monks, who at once began to baptize the people, till soon there was not a pagan left among them.

This colony of Greenland was after a time wholly destroyed, and so thoroughly lost sight of that even at the present day it is a matter of doubt whether the settlements made by Erik and his son Leif were on the east or the west coasts of Greenland. It is, however, believed that both the eastern and western shores were early settled and that they continued to be occupied by a flourishing colony till near the middle of the fourteenth century, when the plague known as the "Black Death," which had been raging for many years in every part of northern Europe, reached Greenland and carried off nearly all the people. The few persons who escaped its ravages were soon afterward cut off by hostile natives, who, taking advantage of the meager number of the colonists, fell upon them and killed them. Possibly the settlements of the Oestre Bygd, on the east coast, survived those of the Vestre Bygd a century or more, but by 1460 they too had ceased to exist. For ages afterward no one made any attempt to explore the coasts on which so many Northmen had met with so sad an end, but in the early part of the eighteen century Hans Egede, a Norwegian clergyman, obtained ships and money from Frederick IV. of Denmark to proceed to Greenland in order that he might try to convert the native Greenlanders, who had been neglected by the mother country since the days of the Black Death. Hans Egede and his wife Gertrude labored with zeal to convert and civilize the neglected natives from the time of their landing in Greenland in 1721 till the death of Hans in 1736, when their son Paul Egede took up the work that his parents had begun. Since that time the Danes have made settlements in the country, and have opened factories and mission-houses for the benefit of these remote colonies.

But to return to Leif. Having seen a church established in Greenland, he began to long for other excitement, which soon offered itself in the prospect of discovering a new land. It happened that in the year 1003 an Icelander, Bjärne, while sailing in search of his father, who had gone on a trading voyage to Greenland, was carried far away to the west and south, till he reached a flat country so thickly covered with wood that he felt certain from the descriptions he had heard of Greenland, it could not be the land of which he was in search. He therefore changed his direction and, as he calculated, presently came safely to Greenland. On hearing the account that Bjärne gave of the strange land he had visited, Leif became impatient to visit it himself. So, buying Bjärne's ship,

he manned it with thirty-five good seamen, and asked his father Erik to take the command. Erik the Red assented, but being an old man by that time and feeble, he went to the place of embarkation on horseback, when, his horse stumbling, he regarded it as a bad omen and declined to go on board, saying, "I do not believe it is given me to discover more lands, and here I will abide."

Leif, therefore, set sail without his father. Following the course which Bjärne had taken, he reached after a time a long stretch of coast, at many points of which he and his men landed, and gathered delicious berries and other fruits which were unknown to some of them, but which seemed to Leif very like the fruits he had eaten in southern Europe when serving under Olaf Trygvasson. One day when Leif and some of his men had landed on the unknown coast, he lost sight of his father's servant, Tyrker, who was a German. Leif sought him for a long time in the woods, and at length found him gathering bright purple and red bunches of fruit, which the man seemed overjoyed to have found. In his excitement he had forgotten the northern tongue which he had long used, and began to speak in his own South-German language, and it was some time before he could make his master and his companions understand that he had found grapes, of which in his native country men made wine.

The Northmen spent the winter in this region, which Leif named "Vinland den Gode," or "Wine-land the Good," and which some authorities believe to have been the coast of Massachusetts, or perhaps Nantucket Island. Afterward, first resuming for a time their cruise along the coasts farther south, they returned to Greenland and told their friends of all the strange lands they had seen. This happened about the year 1003 or 1004. During the next few years Leif and his brothers, Thorwald and Thorstein, made several voyages to the same shores with a view to settling there, but the settlements were too small to resist the attacks of the natives, Skraelingar, or Bad Ones, as the Northmen called them, and so were one by one cut off and the leaders killed. Both Thorwald and Thorstein so perished, though Leif got back safely to Greenland.

The latest notice of Vinland is to be found in the Eyrbyggja Saga, wherein it is related that in the last years of the reign of Olaf the Saint of Norway, who died in 1030, an Icelander named Gudleif, in making a trading voyage to Iceland, was driven far to the south

and west till he reached a land upon whose shores he saw dark-skinned men. They came in great numbers to attack the strangers, and, after seizing the latter, carried them bound into the country. Here the party was met by an old, light-haired chief, of tall and commanding stature, who spoke to Gudleif in Icelandic, and told him that he and his companions might return to their ships, but that if they valued their lives they would make no delay, as the natives were cruel to strangers. He refused to tell his name, but he asked tidings of Snorre Gode, one of the chief personages of Iceland, and begged that Gudleif would carry back with him a gold ring for Snorre's sister Thurida and a sword for her son. When Gudleif returned with these gifts, and told the people of Iceland what had befallen him, it was believed by them that the fair-skinned man in Vinland was Björn, a famous skald, who had loved Thurida in her youth and who had never been heard of since he had sailed from Iceland in the year 998.

After Gudleif returned in 1030 from his voyage to the far west, no settlement of the Northmen is known to have been again attempted, although a Saxon priest is said to have sailed from Iceland in 1059 to convert the heathen of Vinland. For nearly four centuries and a half the western world was again wrapped in darkness, until in 1492 the great Genoese seaman, Christopher Columbus, reopened the ocean road to its vast territories, and for the first time made them known to the nations of Europe.

Chapter VI

KINGS AND HEROES OF THE YNGLINGAR LINE IN NORWAY. 863-1047

WE may now return to Norway and Harald Haarfager. The principle upon which Harald set about to reorganize the dominion that he had reduced to his sway was that of feudalism. First he abolished all allods, transforming them into fiefs to be held of the king in consideration of rents in kind. Secondly, as we have mentioned, he appointed jarls as representatives of his authority, over the conquered districts; sometimes, when they were docile, these were the former smaa-kongar. Thirdly, these jarls were permitted to retain one-third of the revenue of their respective districts on condition of their maintaining sixty warriors for the royal service. Finally, under each jarl were four hersir, who received an estate of the annual value of twenty marks, in return for which they maintained twenty warriors each for the king's service. Both jarl and hersir were clothed with administrative, judicial, and military powers.

This transformation of Norway it was, together with the guarantee of good order which the vigorous personality of the king furnished, the abolition of the strand-hug, and the nose tax—we should to-day call it a poll tax—all these reforms it was which drove full eight hundred [1] families of malcontents to seek homes outside Norway. Their going contributed to the growth of Harald's power in two ways. In the first place, it was a good riddance. In the second place, their abandoned estates falling to the king vastly increased his crown lands, or private realty. The Norwegian king thus came into the possession of a rich source of revenue quite independent of the vicissitudes of the feudal administration of his realm at large.

Harald is said to have been converted to Christianity. This seems improbable. At least he never abandoned the primitive idea of marriage as a mere convenience, but took to himself a prodigious

[1] H. H. Boyesen: "Norway," p. 65.

number of wives, both consecutively and synchronously. The numerous progeny from these various connections kept his declining days in enduring tumult, either by getting killed and so compelling the king to exact vengence of the murderer by undertaking a punitive expedition against him, or by usurping the government of some outlying portion of the realm, or by engaging in war upon one another. In this sort of enterprise Erik, surnamed Blodöxe—and not without reason—was eminently successful. He was also his father's favorite, and was made by him in his last years his associate in the government. Harald's intention was probably to supersede the elective kingship with a strictly hereditary one. In this he seemed at first to have succeeded, for after his death in 933 Erik continued to rule alone, unchallenged by any, save two of his brethren, Olaf and Sigurd, and their united forces he quickly overthrew. However, his tyranny proved intolerable; in 938 a general uprising of the people drove him and his wicked Queen Gunhild to seek safety in England, whose king, Aethelstan, immediately made him ruler of Northumbria. He was especially charged with the task of repelling pirates from the coast, but this did not prevent Erik himself from making piratical descents upon the Scottish coasts.

The leader in the revolt against Erik was Harald's youngest son, Hakon, the ward of this same Aethelstan. Years before, this monarch had sent a sword to Harald, but when the latter took the present, Aethelstan's ambassador had declared that by so doing he had accepted vassalage of the English king. Harald was greatly wroth at this piece of craft, but was finally able to retort by sending Hakon to Aethelstan, who was commanded to educate the King of Norway's bastard. Hakon was a credit to his tutor. A proselyte to Christianity, possessed of an instinct for justice, and favored with a happy conciliatory nature, which soon brought even his sulky brethren to his side, he is an attractive figure in an age which abounds in violence.

Hakon's personal qualities, however, hardly won him the Norwegian crown. More important was his promise to restore allodial lands to the peasantry. This promise he carried out by his famous Gule Law, whereby he entirely changed Norwegian feudalism. Having lost his fief, the king had also lost his army. However, Norway's enemies were chiefly piratical and external. At this very moment, indeed, Erik Blodöxe's sons were setting out from their

secure retreat among the Danish Islands with the intention of ravaging the Norwegian coasts. Hakon accordingly divided the coast into districts, the inhabitants of each of which, in lieu of the former land tax, were to build and man one vessel of war and to maintain signal fires for the purpose of giving general warning whenever pirates should approach.

By 952 Hakon was ready to pursue the pirates to their lair. He landed on the Island of Sjaelland and harassed the coast of Jutland. The result was unfortunate, for Hakon, by his inconsiderate measures, won the enmity of Harald Blaatand, while he failed to exterminate the pillaging sea-rovers. Consequently, the year following he was called upon to repel a Danish fleet from his coasts, and again in 955. On the latter occasion the stratagem of one of Hakon's jarls gave the victory to the Norwegian forces and secured peace for seven years. But in 963 Gunhild, Erik's widow, returned with a third Danish fleet and took Hakon by surprise. The king's meager force was defeated and he himself mortally wounded. He summoned his nephews and entreated them to spare further bloodshed and to rule justly in his place. When someone inquired whether he wished his body to be sent to England for burial, he answered, "No; I have lived as a heathen and therefore I may not be buried as a Christian."

These words refer to Hakon's great disappointment: his failure to establish Christianity in his realm. About the year 950 he had imported a bishop and a number of priests from England, and had issued a prohibition against further sacrifices to the ancient gods. However, at a great annual Thing, held at Drontheim, the bondar or yeomen, while expressing their gratitude for the restoration of allods and for the king's good order and justice, yet declared that they would never forsake the gods who had watched over their ancestors so many years; and plainly laid before Hakon these alternatives: either his desistance from all effort to introduce Christianity or their revolt. Sigurd Jarl, whose wisdom and prudence are praised in the sagas, turned aside the anger of the people. Assuming the robes of a pontiff, which his rank entitled him to wear, Sigurd stepped into the midst of the assembly and said that the king had ordered him to officiate that day in his place, and on that account only had hesitated when the people appealed to him. Then after consecrating the great drinking horn of sacrifice to Odin as the Alfadir, he extended it to

Hakon, standing the while between the king and the assembly in such a manner as to screen him from notice while he drained the cup. Some persons, however, noticed the king making the sign of the cross before he drank; whereupon a great tumult arose, and the jarls, priests, and peasants were one in declaring that they would have no Christian for king. Sigurd again came forward, and in a loud voice proclaimed that his nephew King Hakon was a faithful believer in Thor, and that when he was supposed to be making the sign of the Christian's cross, he was only making the sign of the god's mallet. His words, for that once, turned away the suspicions of the people, while Hakon on his side avoided, for a time, all further cause of offense, and even joined in a solemn feast in which all partook of the liver of a horse which had been sacrificed to Odin. Later, however, repenting of his duplicity in regard to the sacrifices, and of his weakness in having taken part in such a heathen practice, he returned for a year to his country house at Maere, to devote himself to acts of penitence, but that he never completely succeeded in exculpating his conduct before his own conscience would seem to be proved by his last words.

For more than half a century after Hakon's death Norway suffered from constant tumult and anarchy under two protégés of Harald Blaatand: first, under the successful pretender, Harrald Graafell, son of the bloody Eric, and then under Hakon Jarl, who, as we have seen, when he had finally wearied of playing the Warwick for Denmark, succeeded in throwing off all dependency upon that country. At last, in 995, Olaf Trygvasson, great grandson of Harald Haarfager, was accepted by the Things of the chief districts of Norway and so restored the native dynasty.

Olaf resembles his great ancestor in two particulars. The first of these is the appeal that he made because of his personal beauty and prowess to the imagination of his people. Thus his name also became a veritable lodestone of heroic legend. Pursued while but an infant by the malignant jealousy of the bloody Erik's queen, Gunhild, captured by pirates, bartered into slavery for a ram, discovered and ransomed by an uncle, and brought to Hakon Jarl's court incognito; pursued to Wendland by Hakon's jealousy, led by a vision to Constantinople, and there converted to Christianity; the indirect author of Russia's conversion; a globe trotter, finally landing in England; lured thence to Norway by one who intended him treason; accepted as king by the folk of Drontheim, and pres-

ently throughout all Norway; such in brief is the course of Olaf's youth.

The second point of resemblance between Olaf and the great Harald consists in the fact that both set for themselves a definite goal. But here a difference arises: Harald's ideal was the extension of his royal power over a respectable dominion; Olaf set out to make his realm Christian. The methods used in the two cases were not, however, essentially different, for the Norwegian bondar were stauncher, if anything, in their devotion to their ancient faith than they had been in the time of Hakon the Good, a thoroughgoing pagan reaction having supervened under the direction of Hakon Jarl. Again, too, it was the people of Drontheim with whom the would-be champion of Christianity had especially to deal; and again, as in Hakon's case, the ominous temper of the Thing carried the day at first. But only temporarily, for Olaf soon got hold of a number of magnates of the Tröndjer, and, confronting them with the alternative of being baptized in the new faith or being sacrificed in the old, speedily brought them around to a proper way of thinking. The peasantry developed a fearless spokesman in a certain Jernskoeg, or Ironbeard, a Norwegian Thersites, whose unvarnished plainness of speech to the king himself affords one a vivid idea of the uproarious democracy of the time. Ironbeard, however, was soon disposed of, by a free broadax, devoted for the nonce to Olaf's interests. When, therefore, Olaf proceeded to hew down the image of Thor in the great temple of Drontheim, the awe-stricken populace had no one among them to render articulate their sense of the awful sacrilege. Heathendom now fell to the defense of the great jarls of Haalogaland. One after another the more important of these magnates fell into Olaf's hands, and were either baptized or tortured to death. Success was within Olaf's grasp, when he was suddenly confronted by a coalition of rebels at home and pretenders abroad, and of the monarchs of Denmark and Sweden, Svend Cleft-beard and Olaf the Lap-king. This coalition was the work of Svend's queen, whom Olaf, years before, after having asked her hand in marriage, had jilted because she had refused Christian baptism. Probably Svend's enthusiastic paganism had also something to do with the attack now hurled against Olaf Trygvasson. On the other hand the Lap-king was either already Christian or about to become so; and there is alleged[2] to

[2] E. G. Geijer: "History of the Swedes," Turner's translation, p. 37 (1845).

have been a treaty between him and Svend, whereby both the pagan and the Christian proselyte agreed to aid the diffusion of the new religion. Olaf Trygvasson, deserted by his subjects, was hopelessly defeated in a great sea fight off Svold on the Pomeranian coast. Seeing that all was lost, the despairing monarch leaped overboard in full armor and was seen no more. Nine days later his devoted queen Thyra had starved herself. This was in the year 1000.

The allies partitioned Norway between them, but their divided and distant authority was speedily put at defiance by the Norwegian jarls, who had Norway quite at their beck and call for a number of years. During this interval a pagan reaction ensued. The question may arise whether this was so great a calamity as one might suppose at first thought. Certainly Olaf Trygvasson's method of proselyting was barbaric rather than Christian, and if we are to judge from the case of Thangbrand, a priest imported from England, who was Olaf's chief assistant in this matter but who managed to find time for a number of piratical enterprises, the Christian clergy was not an example in what we should regard as Christian living. Certain it is, too, that the whole contest between Heathendom and Christendom was translated by the exponents of the new worship into a contest between the gods of their faith, which was given a polytheistic interpretation, and the gods of the ancient faith, who having met defeat at the hands of their antagonists were now writhing in hell, and hence powerless to answer prayers. On the other hand, that the new faith demanded certain things in way of better conduct from its proselytes, we have seen. These may perhaps be summed up by saying that while the worship of Odin set up war and destruction as ideals, the new faith made peace its object. This is why monarchs of political ambition and insight, like Knud the Great and Olaf Trygvasson, so earnestly championed Christianity, both the doctrines and organization of which were forces of order and unity. Such also was the view of Olaf, the son of Harald Groenske and great-grandson of Harald Haarfager, who ascended the Norwegian throne in 1015. In a word, Saint Olaf—his canonization was only local—resumed the work of Olaf Trygvasson. Again it was Denmark which stood in the way. For Knud the Great, though himself Christian, was ambitious to add Norway to the rest of his extensive empire, and so did not scruple to fan the discontent of Olaf's subjects into open

revolt. Olaf at first fled to the court of Jaroslav of Novgorod, but later, in 1030, ventured to return to Norway, only to meet his death at the hand of his rebellious subjects at Stiklestad in Verdal.

Yet what Olaf failed to accomplish by his life was brought about indirectly by his death. As mentioned above, Knud made his son Svend ruler of Norway in his stead. This young man was entirely under the domination of his English mistress, Aelgifa. This was humiliation enough for the Norwegians who had assisted in Olaf's overthrow, but when Aelgifa set about to destroy the local independence of the great jarls, humiliation became calamity. By the new laws, the ideas of which were brought from Denmark, "it was enacted that no one should have the right to leave the country without the king's permission, and that confiscation of property should be the punishment for transgression. Man-slaying was likewise to be punished by confiscation. So also an inheritance coming to an outlawed man should go into the king's treasury. Ships, fisheries, pasture land, nay, even the peasants' hearthstones, were taxed. . . . Even the Christmas gifts which the peasants were to give the king were fixed by law. The Tröndjers, looking about for a leader, now sent word to Bishop Grimkel, who upon Olaf's death had fled to Sweden, to return to his see. The cause of Christianity and opposition to foreign rule seemed thus to be identified, and this identification received vivid confirmation when Grimkel, discovering the burial spot of his late patron, had the body, which he gave out was that of a saint, exhumed and brought to Drontheim to be reintombed, and to become throughout the Middle Ages the mecca of hosts of pilgrims seeking cure of soul and body from its miraculous virtues. Svend's power was quite at an end, though he remained nominal king of Norway till his father's death, when Magnus, Olaf's illegitimate son, venturing from his residence at the court of Jaroslav, was gladly welcomed by the Norwegians to the the throne of his father. The essential points of Magnus's reign we have already reviewed in an earlier chapter, in connection with Denmark.

Mention has already been made of the dearth of material regarding early Sweden and Norway. To a degree this deficiency is remedied by the "*Heimskringla*," but after the fall of the Ynglings even this source fails us for Sweden, though it becomes more and more informing respecting the sister state. From Anscarius, how-

ever, who, it will be remembered, ventured into Sweden on two occasions in the second quarter of the ninth century, as the first missionary of Christianity to that region, we hear of a certain Björn or Borca, descendant through Björn Jernside, or "Ironside," of Regner Lodbrok, and ruler of a considerable realm centering about Upsala. Upsala was among the Svea what Leire was among the Danes and Drontheim among the Norwegians. Here the king received the homage of the people, standing on the king's stone and within sight of the hill whereon the temple of Odin had stood from the time of Frey-Yngve. Here, too, the people met in their great yearly Thing to hear affairs of state discussed by their jarls and to join at times in the discussion; and to perform the annual great sacrifice to Odin, a ceremony in which the king of the region officiated as chief pontiff. It was the advantage of his situation, no doubt, as well as his own prowess, which enabled Björn's descendant, Erik Sejrsael—the Victorious—to extend his sway toward the close of the tenth century, not only over the portion of Sweden which Gorm the Old had conquered, but, perhaps, temporarily over certain portions of Svend Tveskaeg's more immediate realm. He also defeated the piratical brotherhood of Jomsborg in a great three days' battle off Tyrisval on the Swedish coast.

Erik is declared by Adam of Bremen to have received Christian baptism while in Denmark, but to have subsequently apostatized. He thus left to his son and successor, Olaf Skät-Konung, the "Lap-king," convert of the English Siegfred, the distinction of being enrolled in the table of sovereigns appended to the ancient law of West Gothland, as the first Christian monarch of Sweden. Olaf was, however, much less aggressive in his Christianity than his Norwegian contemporary and namesake, whom he helped to overthrow at Svold. He discreetly refrained from interference with the heathen worship of his subjects, and when the Svea informed him that they would not receive Christian teachers within their boundaries, he decided to confine his church building to the land of the West Goths, within whose territory he founded the bishopric of Skara—the mother see of the north.

The age was, in fact, for all Scandinavia, one of fierce democracy, whose power no monarch could long withstand. Even in his constant quarrels with Norway, Olaf had to consent finally to receive wisdom from his peasant subjects. At this time, says Snorre

Sturleson, the dominion of the Swedes embraced many provinces, each with its own law, its own court, and its own judge, lagman, who was chief of the yeomen and who responded for all when the king or jarl held a Thing with the people. Chief of the lagmen was a certain Thorgny, esteemed for his ancestry and honored for his wisdom. To him, as February, the time of the great Thing, approached, came certain envoys from Norway. Thorgny and Ragwald Jarl were soon won to the cause of peace. The king, however, still bent on war, would not tolerate the mention of the Norse Olaf's name. Then uprose Thorgny before the peasantry, amid a great din of arms. "The kings of the Swedes," said he, "are now otherwise minded than once they were. Thorgny, my grandsire, well remembered Erik Edmundson, king in Upsala, and was wont to tell of him, that while he was in his prime he marched every summer to the war, and subdued to his dominion Finland, Kyrialand, . . . and the eastern countries far and wide. Yet did he never deal so haughtily that he would not endure discourse from those who had aught to propound to him. . . . Björn . . . was affable to his people. I myself freshly remember Erik the Victorious, for I was with him in many of his enterprises. He augmented the Swedish dominion, and warded it stoutly, yet was it easy to come to speech with him. But this king who is now will let none speak with him, and will hear naught but what is pleasing to himself. . . . His tributary lands he let slip from him, and yet would rule over Norway, a thing that no king of the Swedes before him has coveted, for which many must live in unpeace. Wherefore, we peasants will, that thou, King Olaf, shouldst make up thy quarrel with Norway's king and give him thy daughter Ingegerd in marriage. If thou wilt win back those lands in the east which belonged to thy kinsmen and parents, we will attend thee thither. But if thou heed not our words, we will set upon and slay thee, and will not suffer lawlessness and trouble at thy hands. For so did our fathers before us; they threw five kings into a well that were puffed up with arrogance like thee. Now say forthwith what thou wilt choose." [3]

Olaf yielded for the nonce, but seems to have subsequently violated his pledge to the people and to have given his daughter in marriage to Jaroslav of Novgorod, the later host of Olaf of Norway and of Magnus. This piece of treachery would certainly have cost the Lap-king his crown had it not happened that the Svea in

[3] Turner's translation of Geijer, "History of the Swedes."

their jealousy of the men of West Gothland championed Olaf's cause when the Göta in 1022 attempted to set him aside. The upshot of the matter was that the Göta agreed not only to Olaf's remaining king, but also to his son Anund's being made joint ruler with him. The peace with Norway was kept nevertheless, and when, two years later, Anund became sole ruler, he aided the Norwegian Olaf in the latter's unavailing defense of his realm against the victorious Knud. Anund also strengthened himself with subjects, we may imagine, by his neglect of the Christian worship. His successor, Edmund Gamle—the Old—went still farther, and, if we are to believe Adam of Bremen, actually persecuted Christians, and was, in short, *pessimus*. With his death, in 1055, the line of Upsala kings, or Ynglingar, claiming descent from Odin, through Sigurd Ring, came to an end. Sweden was still pagan and remained so for nearly a century. This fact, itself the product in part of Sweden's remoteness from Christian Europe, operated together with this unfavorable geographical position, to perpetuate political immaturity in the northern realm. This, indeed, threatened to become stagnation akin to that of Iceland, where Christian polity was also very slow of establishment. The situation of Denmark was quite otherwise, and her monarchs were in constant communication with Christian Europe. Harald Blaatand, forced to pay tribute to Otto the Great, because he ventured to disregard the latter's charters of immunity to certain bishoprics, must have discovered how much of the Saxon monarch's power was due to his patronage of the church. Knud, returning from his pious pilgrimage to Rome, where he witnessed the coronation of the most powerful of all the Roman emperors, Conrad II., had the same lesson brought home to him still more vividly, even if less forcibly. It was inevitable, therefore, that Svend Estridsen and his successors, making their imperial contemporaries their exemplars, should set about to remodel the primitive constitution of the Danish realm along feudal and theocratic lines. By so doing, whatever evils they unavoidably brought upon themselves and their people, they raised Denmark to the position of preëminence in the Scandinavian world and even to a position of prominence in feudal Europe. This subject we shall deal with more fully hereafter. At present, let us take a brief survey of the Scandinavia of the middle eleventh century.

The great source of information on this subject is Adam,

Canon of Bremen's "*Descriptio Insularum Aquilonis*," the result principally of Adam's visit to Svend Estridsen about the year 1069, but amplified and reinforced by the author's wonderfully broad acquaintance with both the writers of antiquity and with more recent writers, as well as his knowledge of contemporary official acts.[4]

The first part of Denmark, says Adam, is called Jutland, the length of which he indicates in a general way by saying that a journey from Slesvig to Aalborg took from five to seven days. This region Otto the Great had brought to subjection. Not so, however, the tongue-like peninsula that extended from Ottinsand, to-day called Lymfjord. Jutland, a sterile region, was sparsely populated, and, except the river valleys and the coasts of the numerous arms of the sea, the salt-drenched land presented a vast solitude. The inhabited districts, moreover, were greatly infested with pirates. The portion of Jutland that Otto the Great had rendered tributary to himself was divided at the time of the conquest into three bishoprics: Slesvig, Ribe, and Aarhus. Adam notes the headway that commerce was making, despite the risks imposed by piracy. From the port of Slesvig ships were wont to venture "to Sclavania," to Sweden, to Smaaland, and even to Greece. From Aarhus ships went forth to Fyen, to Zealand, to Skaania, and even to Norway. Adam himself witnessed the creation under the patronage of Svend Estridsen of the bishoprics of Viborg, Vendyssel, Zealand, and Fyen. The incumbent of the latter see was reported to have been a pirate. Having at this period run across the Island of Heligoland at the mouth of the Elbe, which received its name from the pirates themselves on account of its grateful stock of fruits and birds, he proceeded after his conversion to found a monastery there and render the place habitable.

The fact is, a great part of the realm of Denmark consisted of islands. Most of these, however, lay to the other side of the peninsula, and most important of these was the Island of Zealand, both on account of its size, the bravery of its men, and its fruitfulness. Here, indeed, was the seat of royal authority at Roeskilde.

[4] I use the edition of Adam's writings to be found in the "*In Usum Scholarum*" series: vol. I., p. 2: Hanover, 1871. The information to be drawn from the "*Descriptio Insularum Aquilonis*" may be supplemented from Adam's main work, the "*Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*," and all previous references to Adam have been to this work, as all references in the following chapter will also be.

From Zealand one could cross, in a single night, over to Skaania, formerly the very stronghold of piracy, and hence very rich in ready gold. These people paid tribute to King Svend for the privilege of continuing their depredations upon the "barbarians who frequent this sea"—the Baltic—"in great numbers." Of course they abused their license, and the weapons which they were allowed to forge for their enemies they turned against their own people. Despite the fact that Skaania had recently been organized into two bishoprics, one at Lund and one at Dalby, Adam gives a very uncomplimentary picture of the inhabitants of this, the most important of the King of Denmark's dominions. They kept no faith with one another, they were without compassion, and had no scruples about selling either a friend or an enemy into slavery. Their laws and customs were contrary, in great part, to right and justice, and, indeed, of doubtful use, except the practice of selling depraved women into servitude. The men, when apprehended in a crime, preferred death to the stripes, and besides slavery death was the only penalty for wrongdoing. The Danes were wont never to shed tears, either for their sins or for dear departed ones—such effeminacy being held in abhorrence. Yet Skaania was the fairest to view of all the Danish provinces, strong in armed men, opulent in fruits of the soil, rich in merchandise, and full of churches, possessing three hundred of these to Zealand's hundred and fifty and Fyen's one hundred. In fact, Adam's description makes it plain that the very wealthiest portion of the Danish realm was that region which first Gorm the Old and then Knud the Great had wrested from the Swedes, thus affording another reason for Denmark's early predominance in Scandinavia.

Adam describes the two bishops of Skaania—two quite different types. Henry of Lund, coming from England, brought with him a considerable accumulation of treasure, and led a luxurious life, dying finally from suffocation, induced by immoderate drinking. Eginus of Dalby, on the other hand, was a man of learning and pure life, wherefore he met with the greatest success in persuading the barbarians of Bornholm to turn from their idols to Christ. Moreover, he taught his converts to devote their wealth to the building of churches, the relief of the needy, and to the redemption of captives. Bornholm, in his day, became a refuge for those who fled from the cruel persecutions in Sweden. It also became, partly on account of its safe harbor, the most celebrated

of all Danish ports, both for vessels seeking the lands of the barbarians and for those bound for Greece.

Adam enumerates fifteen islands and provinces of Denmark, all of them designated as Christian. He next describes the various neighbors of the Danes on the mainland: the Russians, the Prussians, the Bohemians, all living in varying degrees of paganism and savagery. Courland, rich in horses and gold, is also the home of necromancers of so far reaching fame that their responses are sought by Spaniards and Greeks. On a remote coast of the Baltic dwell the Amazons, the males among whom have their heads upon their breasts. There are also cannibals in these parts. So much for the Danes and their European neighbors. As if realizing that he had lapsed into excessive credulity, Adam now turns to describe the Swedes and Norwegians. Norway, the Danish king had told him, could hardly be traversed in a month, nor Sweden in two months. The latter is a most fertile region, rich in fields, flocks, and herds, and forests, and provided with numerous waterways, so that every district is full of foreign merchandise. "Thus you may say the Swedes want nothing except arrogance." "All the instruments of vainglory, gold, silver, etc., which are apt to make us foolish with admiration, they care nothing for." On the other hand, the Swedes were polygamous and still clung to their heathen superstitions and worship, though Christian missionaries, if considerate and virtuous, were received by them, and even regarded with affection, oftentimes participating in the Thing, when they were heard, not unwillingly, as they expounded the new doctrine. "And, forsooth, they would be easily brought to our faith, were it not that evil teachers, who seek their own selfish interests, rather than those of Christ, scandalize them." All northern people were remarkable in Adam's day for their hospitality, but the Swedes excelled all others in this virtue. They were a numerous people, illustrious in arms, and powerful fighters, both as horsemen and sailors, whence their success in warfare. On warlike expeditions they yielded cheerful obedience to their kings, though at home all claimed equality. In battle they were wont to invoke the aid of their gods, but it was coming to be a general notion that the God of the Christians was more powerful than the others, and also more dependable.

But if Adam's opinion of the pagan Swedes was higher than that he entertained of the Christian Danes, his account of the Norwegians, who had by this time become Christians, was still

more laudatory. "Norway, on account of its mountains and the rigor of its climate, is the most sterile of regions and adapted only to flocks and herds." Because of this poverty at home, the Norwegians were once great pirates, but by Adam's time, as good Christians, they had given over such practices, together with the black arts, and, content with their poverty, sought only peace and truth, and lived most chastely. "Moreover, they hold the church and its ministers in such reverence that he is scarcely adjudged a Christian who does not daily attend mass." Likewise, they fulfilled the other rites of the church as scrupulously as the Danes. But there were exceptions to this rule, arising generally from the greed of some priest. The opportunity for venality was the greater, since payment for special rites had not yet been superseded by tithes. "In many parts of both Norway and Sweden the shepherds of flocks are of the noblest order, living after the manner of patriarchs by the labor of their own hands."

Adam concludes his "*Descriptio*" with an account of the portion of Scandinavia lying beyond the Arctic Circle, whither Christianity has never yet penetrated. He mentions the extraordinary length of day and night in these regions, and explains the phenomenon by reference to the earth's rotundity. All this, however, has nothing to do with Scandinavia. In a word, Adam describes a half-agricultural, half-pastoral people, dwelling for the most part near the sea, which they are just ceasing to infest as heathen pirates and just beginning to use as a way for Christian commerce, and still retaining in peace the essence of their primitive political constitution, while submitting in war to the leadership of chieftains of so considerable sway as to be properly designated as kings.

PART II

SCANDINAVIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES
1047-1520

Chapter VII

RISE OF THE CHURCH IN DENMARK UNDER THE ESTRIDSENS.[1] 1047-1134

SVEND ESTRIDSEN, son of Ulf Jarl by Estrid, the sister of Knud the Great and great-ganddaughter of Gorm the Old, ascended the Danish throne in 1047, in accordance, it will be remembered, with the dying wish of Magnus the Good; and thus became the founder of the middle dynasty, which held sway in Denmark nearly three hundred years. His right to the throne was contested by Magnus's nephew and successor in Norway, Harald Haardrade. For seventeen years Harald returned each summer to ravage with fire and sword the Danish coasts, extending his devastations even to the city of Slesvig, which he burned, and earning the appellations "Lightning of the North" and "Blight of the Danish Islands." During the same period the Wends and other pagan and piratical tribes of the Baltic were also extremely active, so that Svend was kept these early years of his reign incessantly repelling invaders. Finally, Svend was able (1064) to bring the Norwegian monarch to a square encounter at the mouth of the Nissa River. The Danes, though they largely outnumbered their foes, were defeated in a battle which continued for two days and the intervening night. Svend himself escaped only through the gratitude of a Norwegian jarl, who had been years before in the former's service and was indebted to him for many favors. Conveyed to the coast of Halland, the Danish monarch, clad in the garb of a herdsman, sought refuge with a peasant, whose wife, unaware of the distinction of her guest, told him flatly that she had never seen anyone so clumsy and ugly as he. The king was obliged to endure the insult in silence, but he did not forget it, and when some years later he gave the peasant a large farm in Sjaelland, he forbade him to bring his shrewish wife thither.

The battle of the Nissa River, though a Norwegian victory, brought Harald Haardrade's raids to a close, by a treaty which restored the ancient boundaries of the two realms. Two years later

Harald was slain at Stamford Bridge, and all danger from that source was thenceforth at an end. Apparently, however, Svend was now unable to shake off the habit of war, or perhaps he thought that he could succeed where Harald had failed. At any rate he sent a messenger in 1067 to William the Conqueror, asserting his right, as the heir and nephew of Knud the Great, to the English throne, and demanding tribute and homage. William's reply to his "friend and cousin" was considerate and politic—for William was by no means secure as yet in his newly found royalty—and was accompanied with handsome gifts. Svend, however, was not to be thus turned aside, but two years later dispatched a fleet of 240 ships to the English coast, under the command of his brother, Asbjörn. After the invader, aided by a considerable following of English rebels, had met with some successes in Northumbria, the Norman king grew apprehensive and determined to try again the efficacy of gifts. Asbjörn accepted the bribe, but derived little benefit from it, for the greater part of his fleet was wrecked on the return voyage and the traitor himself, though he escaped the sea, was driven into exile.

The chief feature of Svend's reign was furnished by his ecclesiastical policy. Svend was very devout. His foundation of four bishoprics; the composition of his personal circle, which was almost exclusively of churchmen, one of whom at one time was Adam of Bremen; his delight in church history; his correspondence with the great Hildebrand; his ready acceptance of the penances imposed upon him by the church, even to the impairment of his health—all go to show this. But Svend was also a barbarian, and perhaps there is no more admirable scene in history than that in which Svend takes the rôle of Theodosius and Bishop Vilhelm of Roeskilde that of Ambrose.

The tale has it that once on a New Year's eve, when the king's servants had been making merry in the hall of Roeskilde and drinking much more than was good for them, some among them so forgot the respect they owed to their royal master that they began talking of his bad luck and want of courage in battle. Svend, overhearing their words, in which there was a great amount of truth, grew very angry, and, pretending he had reason to suspect treason, gave orders that the scoffers should be seized and killed, which was done while the unfortunates were at matins on New Year's Day.

Somewhat later in the morning Svend, clothed in his royal robes, came into the church and was about to enter the chancel when Bishop Vilhelm, who was preparing to celebrate high mass, barred his entrance. The king tried to push on, but the prelate thrust him back with the end of his crozier, denouncing him as a murderer, unworthy to enter the church which he had defiled with the blood of his fellow-creatures. The courtiers, on hearing Bishop Vilhelm's angry words, rushed upon him with drawn swords; but the king, struck by the truth of his reproaches, left the church, and, returning to the palace, changed his royal robes for the garb of a penitent. He then reëntered the church porch, where, bareheaded and barefooted, he waited till the bishop came to receive his confession and give him absolution. Svend came for the third time to the church door, but on the final occasion he again wore his mantle of state and crown, and his procession to the altar was attended by a *Te Deum.*

This ceremony was followed, three days later, by a contrite confession by the king before all the people of his murder and of his sincere repentance, in proof whereof he then and there bestowed upon the church a half *harde* or hundred of land, said to comprise a portion of the present site of Copenhagen. A century later the same area was given by Axel or Absalon, Bishop of Sjaelland, to Valdemar I., and Axelborg, as the place had been called while it had served as a castle for warding off the attacks of pirates, soon became known as the merchant-haven, or Kjobenhaven, or Copenhagen.

Svend's attitude toward the church was, however, not invariably that of concession; occasionally it was that of defiance. His great shortcoming was incontinence, and for this he did penance repeatedly, but when, upon the death of his queen, Gunhild, he took to spouse his stepdaughter, and was informed that the marriage was within the forbidden degrees, he rebelled. Adalbert, metropolitan of Bremen, whose spiritual sway extended over all Scandinavia, from Slesvig to America,[1] and who recognized but two masters on earth, the emperor and Pope, and these grudgingly, eagerly seized upon the opportunity afforded to bring the Danish king to his knees. Menaced by Adalbert with excommunication, Svend retorted with a threat to attack Hamburg. The

[1] F. C. Dahlmann: *"Geschichte von Dännemark."* (Ed. of 1840.) Vol. I. p. 181 ff.

Pope now intervened in the quarrel and Svend consented, finally, to divorce his relative, but at the same time demanded a separate archiepiscopal establishment for Scandinavia. Adalbert's diplomacy sufficed to ward off, for a few years, this blow at his project of a northern patriarchate, designed to rival the Holy See itself. As the former guardian of Henry IV. of Germany, the great prelate now undertook an embassy for his imperial ward to the Danish king, with the idea of making the latter the emperor's ally against the Saxons. Eager to extend his dominions southward, Svend pledged his assistance against Henry's enemies wherever found on land or sea, and giving out that he was to undertake a campaign against the Poles, fitted out a magnificent armament, with which he ascended the Elbe. Discovering at last the real purpose of the expedition, Svend's followers refused to proceed. "The Saxons," said they, "have been our bulwark . . . how terrible would be their revenge." Indeed, the Saxon nation stood not only between Denmark and heathendom, which was vanishing, but between the Danish monarchy and the ambitions of the emperor, which were waxing more extravagant every day.

His reconciliation with Adalbert did not cause Svend to give over entirely the idea of a Scandinavian archbishopric, though he pressed the matter with less insistence and acrimony now. Indeed, his motive seems to have been a statesmanlike appreciation of the great value that the church, if under Scandinavian control, would prove to royal power. The well-nigh nationalized German church of the period was an example before his eyes. He was acting consistently with his main purpose, therefore, when in 1075 he adroitly declined to receive his kingdom in fief from Gregory VII., his former correspondent Hildebrand, and to agree to the payment of Peter's pence, though Gregory quite plainly hinted a Scandinavian archbishopric in return. This Svend died in 1076 without having achieved independence from Bremen for the Danish episcopacy. His name has come down to us at the hands of churchly chroniclers, like Adam of Bremen, as that of one of the most pious and learned princes that Scandinavia ever produced.[2]

[2] If Svend had followed the usual practice of Northmen, he would have taken his father's name with the addition of *sen* and so would be known as Svend Ulfsen. The Jarl Ulf was nearly related to the royal family of Norway, and therefore his son Svend could boast of a very high descent through both his parents. In speaking of the Great Knud's nephew, Svend Estridsen, we must not forget that Edward VII. of England, as well as the present King of

Yet of his fourteen sons, five of whom became in turn kings of Denmark, not one was legitimate.

Svend's eldest son, Harald, surnamed Hejn, "the Softstone," because of his timid, vacillating disposition, became his first successor. His reign lasted but four years and was notable only for the supersession, undoubtedly through clerical influence, of the judicial combat by compurgation. His brother, Knud, who followed him to the throne is a more remarkable figure, and his reign, though short, is filled with event. A brave, energetic, irascible personality, Knud set out to establish a despotism on the basis of a complaisant clergy. The bishops he brought to the rank of the great local magnates. He exempted ecclesiastics generally from all lay jurisdiction. He filled up his council with clerks, and gave the churchmen a voice in the slowly crystallizing assembly of estates—the Dannehof. It can hardly be doubted that the cause of good order demanded these reforms, especially when we find Knud compelled to hang a great magnate of Bornholm, Orgil Ragnarsen, for piracy, and the people raising as much clamor as if an honest man had suffered.

Other indications there are of Knud's determination to extend the royal power. The Wergild seems to have taken on the added character of a fine, a portion of the indemnity in each case going to royal officials who consequently became most zealous in their enforcement of such payments. This measure was not popular; still less the king's attempt to secure a tithe for the church, which

Denmark, can claim this king as their common ancestor, and through him may trace their descent back to Gorm the Old. The English monarch is descended in a direct line from King James I. of England and VI. of Scotland and his queen, Anne, daughter of King Frederick II. of Denmark, and the latter king, like all the other princes of the house of Oldenburg, traced his descent through the female line back to Svend Estridsen, whose mother, Estrid, was great-granddaughter of Gorm. Hence in reading the history of Svend Estridsen and his descendants we must bear in mind that we are reading the history of the common ancestors of the royal families of Great Britain and of Denmark. During three hundred years after the death of Svend Estridsen the Danish crown was worn by princes descended from him in the direct male line, but in 1375, when Valdemar III., "Atterdag," died, leaving no sons, this long line of descent was broken, although the Danish throne was occupied till the middle of the next century by the sons or grandsons of that king's daughters. In 1448 the princes of the house of Oldenburg, who have since then ruled over Denmark, gained the Danish throne in right of their descent through Princess Rikissa, daughter of King Erik Glipping, and thus Denmark during the thousand years of her history has changed dynasties less frequently than almost any other country of Europe.

he wished to see placed on a less precarious foundation than that of voluntary contribution. Here, however, he failed. "Give us," cried the angry peasants in the Things, "give us what fines you please; we will pay anything rather than leave to our children such a burden as these tithes you ask of us."

Looking in the same direction is Knud's bestowal of the jarldom of Sjaelland upon his brother, Erik, and in creating another brother, Olaf, Duke of Slesvig. But the latter measure was a serious error of policy, for, on the basis of the precedent thus set, the practice grew up of granting appanages in various parts of the realm to the royal princes. Slesvig in time became an hereditary appanage and was thus partially dissevered from the monarchy. Also, Knud's various acts effecting the enclosure of extensive areas of forest and excluding the swine of the peasantry therefrom, and his attempt to make a royal monopoly of the right to fish in the bays, sounds, and fjords of the Danish coast, by impoverishing the lower free orders, reduced their importance in the nation and particularly in the Things, and thus diminished their ability to support the monarch against the local magnates.

To his gifts as a statesman Knud added the prowess of a warrior. His initial enterprises were directed against the pirates to the east; meeting with considerable success on these expeditions, he next in 1085 determined to emulate the renown of the Great Knud by effecting the reconquest of England, the project, which, it will be remembered, Knud's father had attempted unsuccessfully eighteen years previous. Knud's allies were his father-in-law, Count Robert of Flanders, and his brother-in-law, Olaf Kyrre, King of Norway, and, with their aid, a fleet of 1000 vessels was in time assembled in the Lymfjord. It never sailed; again Norman gold proved more valiant than Danish arms; and forced to witness the unaccountable defection of his commanders, the Duke of Slesvig among them, Knud, in exasperation and disgust, gave over his plan, dismissing his allies with costly presents.

The sequence was even more tragic. For, seizing the occasion to punish his disloyal subjects, Knud levied a general capitation tax, the first of the sort in Danish history, and planned to divert a portion of it to the coffers of the church. The levy started a rebellion in Vendyssel, which soon swept over all Jutland. The king fled to the Island of Fyen. Thither the rebels pursued him,

overtaking him just as he was seeking refuge with St. Alban's church at Odense. The citizens of the town now joined the angry Jutlanders, and a crowd closing round the church cried out: "Where is Knud, our god-forsaken king? Let him come forth and show himself! He has borne arms long enough against the rights and property of us Danes! It is full time we made an end of this!" The doors at last bursting under the blows of clubs and staves, the mob, now in a great state of frenzy, rushed into the church to the spot where the king was still kneeling before the altar. Knud had by him his two brothers, Benedict and Erik, and a few faithful followers, who were soon overpowered. "Now, King Knud, I will repay thee for stealing my cattle!" cried a peasant. "Take that for robbing me of my oxen and horses!" shouted another, as the mob rushed forward, striking wildly at all within their reach. Benedict was cut down, and Knud himself fell pierced by a spear before the altar, without having raised a hand in self-defense. Canonized in the reign of Erik, who escaped the mob's fury, Saint Knud, the martyr, became the patron saint of Denmark throughout the Middle Ages, and at his tomb many miracles were wrought.

Before Olaf, who was chosen Knud's successor—because he was the son of Svend least likely to avenge his brother's assassination—could take the throne he had to be ransomed from the Count of Flanders, who had been given the custody of him after his treason. Because of the protracted famine in this reign Olaf's subjects promptly tacked the epithet Hunger to his name. The clergy tried to persuade the people that the prevalent want and distress were a direct visitation from God, for the murder of the pious Knud. "For seven years," they declared in their sermons, "they had seen dry springs and hot summers burn up the grain and straw, and wet autumns hinder the crop from ripening, while Christians elsewhere had bountiful crops and early harvests." How sincerely this representation was made it would be vain to attempt to say; at any rate the evidence shows that Germany, England, France, and Italy were all afflicted with the same adverse seasons, that drought and flood alternated, that dearth was general, that domestic animals sought the woods, and that cultivated moors lapsed back to their primitive wildness. On the other hand, Olaf was not entirely undeserving of his surname. For he had returned from his captivity with extravagant notions, and in the midst of the

general famine maintained a showier court than any of his predecessors had done. His death in 1095 went unregretted.

Erik, Knud's defender in St. Alban's church, was now chosen king, and with his accession good seasons returned. Erik's surname, Ejegod, "Good for the Eyes," is due, however, to his great personal beauty, for he had the blue eyes, the blond complexion, the long flowing hair which are praised by the folklore of the north as the distinctive badges of the noblest of the Vikings. Erik was also noted for his great strength of body, which was reputed equal to that of four ordinary men, his skill in warlike exercises, and his accomplishments in the eight arts of northern knighthood: riding, swimming, skating, seamanship, javelin-throwing, chess-playing, harp-playing, and versification. He also became a great linguist in the course of his pilgrimages, and prided himself on being able to converse with all foreigners in their native tongue.

Erik conducted a number of very successful punitive expeditions against the Wendish pirates and again destroyed their stronghold at Jomsborg. He is also said to have given his people license to make reprisals upon these sea-robbers. But as in Svend's and Knud's case, the chief interest in Erik's reign arises from his dealings with the church. This was the period of the great "investiture conflict" between the empire and the Papacy, the issue in which lay between relative rights of the emperor and the Pope with respect to the filling of vacant bishoprics. A bishop performed a dual rôle, that of vassal for his "temporalities" or lands, and that of a minister of the church, in the exercise of spiritual functions. This distinction, which became the basis of the settlement of the quarrel by the Concordat of Worms in 1122, whereby the emperor gave over the pretended right to invest a new bishop, the free choice of the cathedral chapter, with the symbols of his spiritual office, in return for the complete recognition by the Pope of his right to grant or withhold investure in the temporalities of the episcopal see in question, was at first ignored. The consequence of this failure to analyze the issue was that both parties to the controversy made extreme claims. The Scandinavian edition of the quarrel was produced by Archbishop Liemar's attempt to deny Erik's control of certain temporalities of the church within Denmark. Erik, excommunicated, appealed to Rome and went thither to plead his cause in person before Urban II. He was suc-

cessful, for though Urban was a zealous apostle of all Gregory VII.'s doctrine, he had little desire to see the dangerous metropolitanate of Bremen profit by an opportune espousal of a cause to which it had hitherto been quite faithless. Five years later, in the time of the pliable Paschal II., Erik now on a second visit to Rome obtained the great object of his father's ecclesiastical policy, an archbishopric for Scandinavia. Lund, in Skaania, became the seat of the new primate, whose jurisdiction extended over Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Färoe Islands, Ireland, Greenland, Vinland, and the Hebrides. The first incumbent was Adgar, a descendant of the famous Palnatoke.

Erik's brilliant success on this occasion is to be explained in part by the fact that he was now the brother of a saint; for Urban II. had consented, on the occasion of Erik's first visit at the Papal capital, to Knud's canonization, which followed in 1101. In part it is to be explained by the primary cause of Erik's presence a second time at Rome. For Erik was now in the course of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in atonement for the murder of one of his servants, committed, Saxo assures us, in a frenzy caused by some stirring music. Erik's subjects had begged and implored their beloved monarch to remain at home, and had even offered to contribute a third of their substance to make up the king's blood-fine and to pay for the masses which he desired to purchase at Rome and Jerusalem for his victim's soul. Their entreaties were in vain, for the king, who had become imbued with the crusading spirit in his contact with the great Urban, the summoner of Europe to the first crusade, was determined to do penance for his crime in the approved method for conspicuous sinners. Neither he nor his queen, Botilda, who accompanied him, lived to enter the Holy City. Leaving Constantinople, where he had finally received regal entertainment from the Emperor of the East, though at first he was regarded with suspicion lest he should lead a revolt of the imperial guard of Norse Varingjar, Erik died soon after on the Island of Cyprus (1103). Botilda lived to enter the newly established kingdom of Jerusalem, but not the city itself.

Not till two years after Erik's death was his successor chosen, for the people were reluctant to believe the sorrowful report and the magnates were profiting by the interregnum. In 1105 Erik's brother Niels was elected, the claims of Erik's sons being entirely ignored. Niels's long reign of thirty years was calamitous. Unable

to ward off the attacks of the Wends, whose king, Henry "of the Obotrites," retorted to Niels's demand of homage with an invasion of Slesvig, the weak monarch invested his vigorous nephew, Knud, who alone of Erik's three sons was loyal, with the virtual sovereignty of that part of the realm. Knud had been trained in arms at the court of Lothair, Duke of Saxony. In 1125 Lothair became emperor, and in return for Knud's defense of the Holstein lands—in conjunction with that of Slesvig—bestowed upon him the title of the deceased Wendish king. These honors roused both the envy and apprehension of Niels's son, Magnus, who began to fear for his own succession. The jealous prince was able to secure his father's coöperation in an act of treachery and horror. Knud was invited to spend the yule-tide at the royal castle at Roeskilde, and, responding to the invitation in all good faith, brought with him but a small retinue of men-at-arms. The yule-week Knud passed in safety, but, as he was setting off on his return, he was ambushed at Ringsted by a force set there by Magnus, and slain without being afforded any opportunity for a fair fight.

This deed brought no good to Magnus or his father, however, for as soon as Knud's brother, Erik, known afterward as Erik Emun, or the "Boaster," heard of the murder he made an appeal to the people at the Great Thing, and begged them to give him men and money to make war on his treacherous uncle. The Danes, as well as the men of the Slesvig and Holstein provinces, had always held the grave Knud Hlaford in great esteem. They therefore took up arms most willingly and Erik soon found himself strong enough to offer battle to the royal troops. The two armies met at Fodevig in Skaania, in the spring of 1134. Prince Magnus was slain, and all the bishops and priests who had come upon the field with him were either killed or made captive. King Niels himself for the moment escaped falling into the hands of the victors, but in the hurry of his flight he let himself be persuaded to cross the Belt to Slesvig, not thinking of the danger that would befall him in a town where Knud had held his court and was adored by the citizens. Knud had, moreover, been headmaster of St. Knud's Guild or Company. When the king was counseled to bear this in mind he laughed and said: "It would be a shame if Svend Estridsen's son should have a fear of cobblers and brewers!" and with these words he rode boldly into the courtyard of the royal palace.

Soon, however, King Niels learned that cobblers and brewers could prove as terrible foes as kings and princes, for no sooner had he and his men come into the castle hall than they heard the outer gates close behind them, and a ringing of the bells from every belfry and tower in the town. The watchword of the guild-brothers passed from street to street, and soon the market-place outside the castle swarmed with armed men, eager to take vengeance on one, for whom, although he was their king, they cared very much less than for their slain guild-brother, the brave Knud Hlaford. The clergy, wishing to prevent bloodshed, came forth from their churches robed in their state vestments and bearing on high the host, but the guild-brothers sternly thrust them aside, and, bursting into the palace, slew King Niels and all who stood by him. Thus died, in the year 1134, the last of Svend Estridsen's five king sons, sixty years after the death of that father and ancestor of all later Danish rulers.

The manner of Niels's death calls attention to an institution which often became, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in Denmark, as in other countries of western Europe, the nucleus of town-life and municipal association. These guilds, or confraternities, were instituted for the purpose of securing to their members "mutual protection against violence and outrage, and mutual aid in case of sickness, shipwreck, fire, and other calamities. When a member of such a fraternity was charged with any crime the others were bound to assist him by oath and witness. Likewise, when a member had been murdered, the others should gather the fine, or if refused to be paid, demand vengeance of blood on the slayer." [3] Both because of this attempt to intervene between their individual members and authority, and because clerks and laymen were often to be found promiscuously associated within their folds—a thing asserted to be abhorrent to Scripture—confraternities early fell under the ban of the church, which denounced such associations as conducive to perjury and crime. Yet, as with all institutions of the Middle Ages, they were not wanting the ecclesiastical stamp. Donations were given to the church and the poor, and requiems sung for the dead. The canonization of Knud the Pious furnished the Danish confraternities with their favorite patron.

A different sort of association was the craft-guild, consisting of the workers in a particular trade in a particular place, the object of whom in thus banding together was to secure the observance of

[3] P. C. Sinding: "History of Scandinavia," p. 93.

certain regulations regarding apprenticeship and succession to the trade and to assure a certain quality of workmanship from co-members. The craft-guilds, however, often adopted many of the features of the confraternities, especially that of mutual assurance against sickness and calamity, and both are to be looked upon as products of that tendency toward coöperation, which with the development of industry and the rise of commerce raised the town communities to consideration and political importance, while the peasantry was gradually sinking into greater and greater dependence. It would be easy, however, to exaggerate the dimensions of this movement in Denmark proper, where, for reasons presently to be stated, commerce and industry were still rudimentary even at the middle of the thirteenth century.

Of course, the most important outcome of the period of the Estridsens is the rise of the church, through the liberality of Svend and his sons, to a position of influence and affluence in Denmark. The culmination of this development was the establishment of the archbishopric of Lund, whose early incumbents, grateful to the monarchy for past favors and donations, and devoutly anticipatory of future concessions, and ambitious to extend the sacerdotal sway over the heathen bordering the Baltic, through the extension of royal conquest over those regions, put the resources of the Scandinavian church at the disposal of their regal contemporaries without stint. It might almost be asserted that their alliance with the primacy was the very foundation of the power of the Valdemars, whose era is mediæval Denmark's "Age of Glory." Yet, at the outset, the situation of the Archbishop of Lund was somewhat precarious. In 1123 a second Papal bull was addressed to the Danish church on the subject of celibacy, but met with much opposition on the part of the clergy. Honorius II., however, was as seriously in earnest upon this point as his predecessors had been in the matter of investitures. Accordingly, upon the accession to the archbishopric of Bremen of Norbert, the great champion of the celibacy of the secular clergy and the founder of the Canons Regular, the powers of the Archbishop of Lund were suspended by the Pope, and Norbert's sway expanded to the dimensions of that of his predecessors. The opposition of the Danish clergy to celibacy, nevertheless, persisted, and, nearly a century later, two hundred Jutish priests made formal and solemn protest against the reform.

About 1150 the English cardinal, Nicholas Breakspear, after-

ward Adrian IV., visited Scandinavia and erected the bishopric of Drontheim into an archiepiscopal see. The new primacy was vested with jurisdiction over Norway, Iceland, Greenland, the Färoe Islands, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man. Though it thus cut into the dominions of the Archbishop of Lund, who had been restored several years before to his dignities, it cannot have actually affected the revenues or power of the Danish primacy a great deal. The dimensions that these eventually attained we shall have occasion to show later.

Chapter VIII

DENMARK'S AGE OF GLORY UNDER THE VALDEMARS
1134-1286

KING NIELS'S assassination was followed by the accession of Erik Emun, the late king's nephew. Erik was a brave warrior and succeeded in keeping the coasts free of the Wendish pirates, but his reign was marred by many atrocities. For example, he put to death his brother Harald Kesia, and his ten sons, and as the ally of Harald Gille, of Norway, he disgraced their joint victory over Magnus Sigurdson by frightfully mutilating Magnus upon his capture. Finally, in 1137 Eskil, Bishop of Roeskilde, seeking to make himself Archbishop of Lund, put himself at the head of a revolt and ultimately brought about Erik's murder. Erik Lamb, nephew of Erik the Good, now came to the throne. He was a very feeble ruler. Eskil succeeded in making himself primate without even consulting the king. The Wends revived their piratical enterprises and Erik's subjects, forced to defend themselves, came to despise their king's monkish traits as much as they had hated his predecessor's tyranny. In 1147 Erik died, and a three-cornered civil war of ten years' duration ensued between the adherents of Svend Erik, Emun's son; Valdemar, son of Knud Hlaford; and Knud, son of Niels. In the course of the struggle Svend and Valdemar in turn sought refuge and support from the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who forced them to recognize anew the imperial pretensions over Denmark, which date from the time of Harald Blaatand. Eventually Svend procured the murder of Knud through the agency of the primate, while Valdemar only barely escaped becoming a victim of the archbishop's treachery. The war was brought to a close by a great battle near Viborg, in which Svend was slain and his army defeated.

The chief consequence of the great civil war is to be seen in the growth of the power of the local magnates, among whom may be classed the great bishops, and the consequent reduction of the power of the bondar or yeomen, a vast proportion of whom emerged

from the struggle as serfs. Thus, when the Thing came together in 1157 to discuss the question of choosing a king, only the nobles and bishops pretended to take part in the election, which resulted in the choice of Valdemar. There were significant changes also in the manner of proclaiming the new king which revealed how much power the higher orders had usurped in the last few years. Formerly, when a Danish king had once been chosen by the local Thing of his capital, it was customary for him to go from town to town, from hundred to hundred, and from province to province to show himself, and to receive the homage of his subjects. But Valdemar had, in the course of his attendance upon the emperor at Merseburg in the days of the civil war, become thoroughly imbued with the imperial notion. In lieu, therefore, of making the traditional progress, he caused himself to be anointed in the cathedral, decked with the robes of state, and vested with a golden scepter by the bishop.

When Valdemar first came to the throne he found neither money, nor soldiers, nor trade, nor order in his kingdom. When he died he left to his successors a flourishing, well-defended, busy, and peaceful monarchy, to which he had added large tracts of land in the pagan regions adjoining the Baltic, where the Wends and Esthonians did homage to him and consented at last to receive Christian teachers and to renounce piracy.

In his enterprises both of war and peace Valdemar could count upon the support of the church. His twenty and more expeditions against the heathen took on the character of crusades and as such appealed to a leading motive of the age. But more particularly was Valdemar indebted to the loyalty of Axel Hvide, the great Bishop Absalon of Sjaelland, who in 1177 succeeded Eskil as Archbishop of Lund, after the latter, brought to humiliation and disaster by a final treason, had retired to the monastery of Claravalle in France. Absalon is perhaps the greatest personality of mediæval Scandinavia. At one time a student at the University of Paris, upon coming into the primacy he proceeded to introduce throughout Denmark the recently codified canon law. He asserted the right of cathedral chapters to choose bishops independently of the sovereign's wishes, and subject only to the Pope's approval. The Cistercian monks whom Eskil had first summoned into Denmark found in Absalon a great friend and supporter, the monasteries of Esrom, Vitsköl, Ringsted, and Oem being of his foundation. But

though a zealous churchman, Absalon was also a great statesman and willingly placed the resources both of his personal leadership and of his position as head of the Danish church at the disposal of Valdemar. He was also a brave soldier and skillful sailor. He liked nothing better than to stand on the deck of his own ship and command the seamen directly or to lead them on shore in a bold foray against the pagan foe. From his castle Axelborg, on the present site of Copenhagen, he kept a sharp lookout for pirates, and it was not often that his fortress was without a row of heads set up in testimony of the episcopal wrath against sea-robbers, and as a warning to others of the fate that awaited them if they should chance to fall into his holiness's hands. Absalon it was who, in 1169, headed the assault that made the Danes masters of Arcona, the supposedly impregnable capital of Rygen, and the seat of the great idol Svanteveit; but the shedding of blood being over, the militant bishop became the churchman once more. For two days and two nights did the arduous task of baptizing the captives continue, and ceased only when Absalon and his assistants dropped down before the altar from sheer exhaustion.

Toward the close of Valdemar's life a revolt of the peasantry broke out in Skaania, due partly to the unaccustomed zeal of the king's officials in the collection of capitations, and partly to the severity with which the primate himself exacted forced services of the serfs of the archiepiscopal domain. Absalon, finding that he could not compel the peasants to obey his orders with the force that he himself had at hand, crossed the Sound and coming to the royal court at Vordingborg in Sjaelland demanded that the king proceed with his army to punish the recalcitrants. At first the king was disposed to favor the peasants, but when the primate proved insistent he set sail for Skaania, declaring that no one should ever say of King Valdemar that he had failed his friend Absalon. Even yet, however, Valdemar tried to prevent bloodshed. But the peasantry, already in battle array and armed with scythes, axes, and clubs, viewed the royal advances with suspicion. The archbishop, moreover, was undoubtedly anxious to provoke a struggle. "This beggarly rabble," said he, "is unworthy to be cut down by the swords of noblemen, we had best hunt them with whip and lash." "You forget, my good friend," said the kindly king, "that we are dealing with men and not with dogs." The battle was a long and stubborn one, notwithstanding the poor arms and humble rank

of the bishop's foes, but it ended of course in a complete rout of the peasantry, one consequence of which was that Skaania became subject to tithes until the Reformation.

In the next year, 1182, King Valdemar died at the age of fifty-one, and, like many of his forefathers, was buried in the church at Ringsted. Despite his severity in Skaania, he still retained the love of his people. As the funeral procession, headed by Absalon, passed by, a crowd of peasants begged with tears and loud cries of grief to be allowed to carry the remains of their beloved king to his last resting place. When the archbishop began to read the service for the dead his voice failed him and he too wept. "Denmark's shield and the pagan's scourge," he said had departed, and the country would soon be again overrun by the heathen Wends.

The archbishop's melancholy predictions were not fulfilled, however, thanks in great part to the continuance of his own efficient administration of affairs. When, in 1184, Frederick Barbarossa demanded that Knud should appear at the imperial court at Ratisbon and receive the crown of Denmark as a fief of the empire, the power and credit of the Danish monarchy were such that Knud was able to reply to the imperial envoy: "I am as much monarch in my own realm as the emperor is in his, and if he fancies that he should like to give away my crown, he had better find the prince bold enough to come and take it from me." Frederick, engrossed with Italian affairs, was quite unable to take up the gauntlet that had been cast down, but had to content himself with inciting the princes of Pomerania to undertake an invasion of the Danish Islands. The old archbishop went out and boldly attacked the intending invaders before they had hardly left their shores, destroyed 465 of the 500 ships they had assembled, and compelled Pomerania and the Wends to recognize in Knud "the king of the Wends and other Slavs." The fame of Absalon's exploit became the subject of songs and tales in every part of Scandinavia and even among the Varingjar at Miklagaard.

Following the annexation of Pomerania, Knud made himself master of Hamburg, Lübeck, Holstein, Lauenburg, and Mecklenburg. Finally, he turned his arms against the Esthonians and Livonians. From this time on, however, his successes were less complete and he made but little real progress in the way of establishing Christianity among these peoples. As long as the Danish troops were in the pagan lands Knud found it an easy matter to

compel the people to accept the rites of the church, but no sooner was his army withdrawn than the natives returned to their ancient practices. Moreover, his efforts were soon needed nearer at home, for the emperor had again succeeded in raising foes against him, this time in Denmark itself; and at the imperial instigation a very serious revolt was soon flaming forth in Slesvig. The object of this uprising was to set Valdemar, Bishop of Slesvig and grandson of the assassin of Knud Hlaford, on the throne. The king's brother, a third Valdemar, had just been made governor of all south Jutland and to him was now given the task of putting down the

Slesvig rebels, which he did quickly and thoroughly. Bishop Valdemar, taken captive, was thrown into the dungeon of Soborg castle and kept there many years, living, however, to achieve a complete revenge upon his namesake. Bishop Valdemar's ally, Count Adolf of Holstein, was also thrown into Soborg keep.

Knud's last years were disturbed by a dispute with Philip Augustus of France, provoked by Philip's repudiation of his queen, Ingeborg, Knud's sister. Not till the Pope himself, Innocent III., had repeatedly intervened in the quarrel did Philip yield and bring to an end the danger of a war between the two monarchs. Knud died in the year 1202, having been preceded to the grave a few months

by the great Absalon. In the absence of descendants, he was succeeded by his brother Valdemar, who was in northern Germany at the time of the king's death. So great had been Valdemar's success in this quarter that the princes of Holstein, Lauenburg, Pomerania, Rygen, and Mecklenburg, and the Hanse Leaguers convened at Lübeck to do him homage as their sovereign lord without waiting to learn upon whom the choice of the Danish estates had fallen.

Valdemar II. immediately upon taking the throne proceeded to justify the bestowal upon himself of the surname Sejr, the Conqueror. He compelled Adolf, Count Duke of Holstein, to give up his duchy and the adjoining lands to Albert of Orlamunde, who as the king's nephew already held Slesvig and now took the title of Duke of North Albingia. Valdemar next turned his attention to Pomerania. This was the period of the most powerful of all the Popes, Innocent III., when the unremitting struggle between the Papacy and the empire was highly kaleidoscopic. Denmark was at this moment a real factor in the world empire, and Valdemar's alliance was sought successively by Philip of Suabia, Otto IV., and Frederick II. in their struggle for the imperial crown. It was partly due to clerical influence directed by the Papal interest and partly to wise and statesmanlike distrust of German power in northern Europe that Valdemar finally cast in his lot with Frederick II., who was always willing to sacrifice his German interests to his Italian schemes, and who, in accordance with this policy, made over to the Danish king in 1217, subject only to the paramount claims of the empire, all the territories north of the Oder and Elbe. Three years before this the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Archbishop of Bremen, and numerous other princes of northern Germany had formed a league for the purpose of checking the growth of Danish power along the Baltic coast. The combination had proved futile and Frederick's concession simply recognized accomplished facts.

Valdemar's success in Germany led him early in his reign to attempt to establish his sway over Norway and Sweden, but in neither kingdom did he meet with any enduring success. Finally, in 1210, a signal defeat compelled him to withdraw his forces from Sweden and to make peace with the Swedish king, Erik Knudsson, by giving the latter his sister in marriage. This was the time of the fourth crusade. Valdemar, a zealous son of the church, greatly

regretted his inability to join the thousands of his subjects who were setting out for the Holy Land, in retribution wherefore he obtained, in 1219, the Pope's special sanction for a crusade against the pagans of Esthonia. Armed with the Papal bull, which gave him sovereignty of all the land he might conquer and convert, Valdemar entered upon his undertaking with an army of 60,000 men and a fleet of 1400 ships, such an array as Scandinavia had never before witnessed, and had soon completely overrun Esthonia. The Danes found, however, formidable rivals in their work of proselyting in the Livonian Knights of the Sword, who claimed a monopoly of the missionary function in these regions, and a series of sharp battles had to be fought and much blood shed before it was settled which party might convert the heathen. The plain narrative of these religious wars in Esthonia was subsequently embellished with many marvels, one of which relates to the first appearance of the Dannebrog or national standard. According to the myth, it descended from heaven while the primate and Andreas Sunesön, the great Absalon's successor, were praying for victory at the far-famed battle of Wolmar. It is not improbable that the Pope may have sent a consecrated banner bearing "the white cross in a blood-red field" as a token of his favor and that its sudden appearance when the Danes were beginning to waver before the pagan ranks gave the victory which in later times was believed to have been the result of the primate's prayers.

The kingdom of Denmark now included Denmark, Holstein, Ditmarsh, Lauenburg, Schwerin, Mecklenburg, Rygen, Pomerania, Esthonia, Oesel, and several tracts of Prussia and Courland. Valdemar II. was now at the height of his glory, a glory, moreover, which far surpassed that of any of his predecessors. Nevertheless, it would be easy to exaggerate his actual power, for he was constantly surrounded by foes both secret and open, who were seeking to encompass his downfall. Fear alone kept his vassals orderly and submissive and it was evident that emperor and Pope alike, though both pretended to favor him, would gladly see the end of Denmark's supremacy in Scandinavia and northern Germany. A single turn of fortune, a disastrous night, served to expose the instability of the King of Denmark's grandeur. Among the false friends of the king, who were in reality harboring projects of revenge, there was none who seemed more attached to the royal person than Henry, Count-Duke of Schwerin, and none who in reality

hated him more bitterly. In the spring of 1223 the king and his eldest son, Prince Valdemar, landed on the Island of Lyò, attended by only a few servants, and proceeded to engage in the king's favorite pastime of hunting. This was Count Henry's opportunity. While the king and his son were sleeping within their improvised tent, their attendants and huntsmen scattered about in slumber also, Count Henry landed with a well-armed party of conspirators, who, making their way cautiously among the sleepers, entered the royal tent, seized the king and prince, drew sacks of wool and straw over their heads, and made off with them without rousing a single one of the royal attendants. Thus gagged and bound, the king and prince were carried through the midst of their own people to the strand, and deposited helpless as logs in the bottom of a boat which was awaiting them, and quickly transported across the narrow strait to the opposite shore of Fyen. There the conspirators transferred their victims to a swift-sailing yacht. The wind proving favorable, on the following day, almost before the king's servants at Lyò had discovered their disappearance, the lately dreaded and powerful King of Denmark and his son and designated successor were put ashore at a lonely spot on the German coast, and thence, still gagged and bound, and tethered to a horse, were hurried off at full gallop to the castle of Danneberg in Hanover, which had been lent to Count Henry to serve the purpose of a royal prison.

It certainly affords us a very striking idea of the lawlessness and anarchy of the feudal age in northern Europe to contemplate King Valdemar's fate and to consider that for three years the most powerful monarch of Scandinavia and one of the most powerful of western Europe was left to endure the pangs of hunger and cold and the bonds of a common felon, although in the interim both Pope and emperor were fulminating against his captors all the penalties that the law, secular and canonical, decreed against those who should venture to raise their hands against a prince anointed by the church and holding lands in fief from the imperial crown. Count Henry gave facile promises that he would without delay attend to the release of King Valdemar and his son. But he as easily evaded the fulfillment of his promises, knowing full well that Rome and Ratisbon were too remote from Danneberg to furnish real occasion for alarm, and aware also that the other princes in northern Germany were at one with him in his determination to

keep their common enemy under bolt and bar as long as possible. Even from Denmark there was but little reason to fear anything. For although the Danish nation was avid for vengeance, and eagerly demanded in the local Things to be led to the rescue of their beloved monarch, there was not a prince nor magnate among them willing to undertake the rescue of the captive. Exception should be made, however, of Albert, Count of Orlamunde, who, having learned of his uncle's capture while on his way to Rome, returned in haste to Denmark, and collecting some forces marched into Hanover, and gave battle to the German princes before Danneberg. The Danes, however, were easily defeated and Albert himself, taken prisoner, was thrown into the same dungeon with the king and prince. The captives were now in a worse state than before. Finally Valdemar, seeing no other chance of escape from captivity, agreed to the terms of release offered by the Count of Schwerin. He must pay a ransom of 40,000 silver marks [1] for himself and his son. He must cause his three younger sons to be brought to Danneberg as hostages till the money was paid. He must surrender to "Black Henry" all the jewels of the late Queen Berangaria which had not already been bestowed upon churches and monasteries, and one hundred men-at-arms equipped with horses, armor, and weapons. Also he must forfeit to the emperor all the territory between the Elbe and the Oder, including Holstein and North Albingia, and the whole country of the Wends except the Island of Rygen. On these terms the royal captives were released and allowed to return to Denmark, which was in a frightful state of disorder and anarchy.

Valdemar's first step toward recovering his position was to apply to the Pope for absolution from the oath which he had taken to send his three young sons into captivity. The Pope granted the prayer, informing Count Henry that if he tried to press his unjust claims against the King of Denmark he would be excommunicated. The unfortunate Valdemar's humiliations were not, however, even yet at an end. In 1227 the peasants of the Ditmarshes having refused to pay the tribute which the Danish crown had long claimed from them, made good their refusal by defeating the army that Valdemar led against them. The king himself, struck to the ground with an arrow, escaped a second capture only through the

[1] The mark, equal to about eight ounces, was the unit of weight down to the introduction of the metric system.

timely aid of a German knight, who having been in Valdemar's service in former years, forgot the hostility of the moment and conveyed his old master helpless and bleeding to Kiel, there attended his wounds, and sent him on to his country palace at Vordingborg in Sjaelland. By the peace that succeeded the battle at Bornhöved, Lübeck and the Hanse towns were formally accorded the autonomy which they had already usurped at the time of Valdemar's captivity.

The remaining fourteen years of Valdemar's reign were devoted to the cares of government, of the preparation of a Jordebog or book of lands akin to the Doomsday book of William the Conqueror, and to the preparation of several codes of laws for the various provinces of the kingdom. "This statistical document (*Librum Census Daniæ*), the greater part of which is still preserved, throws much light on the internal economy of that country during the thirteenth century. The different provinces were divided into episcopal dioceses, amounting to eight in number; and these were again subdivided into parishes for ecclesiastical purposes, and small districts, each of which was to furnish a vessel and a certain proportion of men for the defense of the kingdom, and the equipment of expeditions against the pirates or other public enemies. North Jutland comprehended the bishoprics of Ribe, Aarhus, Viborg, and Borglum, which together furnished 450 ships. South Jutland, or Slesvig, supplied an equal number, and was divided into 130 Styreshavne, or maritime districts. Fyen, with the smaller adjacent isles, Laaland and Langeland, constituted the diocese of Odense, and were rated at 100 sail. The see of Roeskilde, comprising Sjaelland, with the islands of Moen, Falster, and Rygen, contributed 120 vessels; Skaania, Halland, and Bleking furnished 150, and were subject to the Archbishop of Lund, whose jurisdiction extended also to Bornholm, Esthonia, and the other Danish possessions on these coasts."[2]

In 1241 Valdemar laid the Jutish code before the Thing of Jutland, which met at Viborg, and before the Sjaelland Thing at Vordingborg. These laws, which had been revised by the learned Bishop Gunner, were soon extended to Slesvig and to Fyen, and having thus taken on something of the character of a national code were continued in force for nearly 450 years, until Christian V., in 1687, performed a general revision of Danish law, and even then not all the provisions of Valdemar's famous code were set aside.

[2] Crichton and Wheaton: "Scandinavia," vol. I. p. 260.

As in more ancient times, the people continued to decide their disputes by reference to juries of which there seemed to have been several varieties; one consisting of "eight good men and true" chosen by the king and another of twelve jurors chosen by the community who were bound to tender an oath to the royal bailiff that they would determine the matters referred to them in accordance with "that which was most right and most true." All evidence offered before these juries was direct, the complainant supporting his accusation by his own oath and that of his compurgators, the defendant clearing himself if he was able by direct countercharges likewise supported by compurgators. The ordeal of battle had long since been abolished as we have already seen; the ordeal of red-hot iron was now done away with. Besides the popular juries, the king's bailiff, as already indicated, had a part in the dispensing of justice. His principal function was, however, to see that the judgments of the juries were carried out, to preserve order, to receive oaths, and to make all preliminary arrangements for the assembly of the Thing which met in the open air within a space enclosed within a ring of stones—a sheriff in short. The laws were lenient and most crimes could still be atoned for by money payments, a portion of which went to the disadvantaged party and a portion to the king's bailiff.

Three days after the Jutish laws were read and approved by the Thing of Vordingborg, Valdemar died at the age of seventy-one. His memory has always been especially cherished by the Danes, who rightly regard him as the greatest of their conquerors and his era the most glorious of their history. Both in his own time, and in the period immediately succeeding his death, Valdemar was looked upon as the perfect model of a noble knight and a royal hero. To the prowess of his early conquests his subsequent miseries and humiliations conferred something of the glamor of martyrdom.

In the course of his reign Valdemar had two queens. The first was Margrete of Bohemia, whom the Danes in their fond admiration of her gentleness and beauty called Dagmar, or the maiden of the day. The second was Berangaria, daughter of King Sancho V. of Portugal. Dagmar long continued to be a special favorite with the people of Denmark, and the fame of her virtues was kept alive in many of the most popular of the *kaempeviser*, where we find her represented as a fair, fragile, golden-haired princess, gentle and pure as a saint. According to one of these old

ballads, as she lay on her death bed, and her chaplain urged her to confess, she could think of no sin but that of having decked herself in her best new bodice and plaited her long hair with bright ribbons before she went to mass. The tall, black-haired Berangaria, on the other hand, excited the greatest antipathy among her subjects, who translated her name into *Bengjoerd*—a vile woman. The superstitious peasants even believed that fierce cries of rage and terror might be heard from her tomb in Ringsted abbey by those who passed near it at midnight, while at the same moment softest strains of heavenly music floated over the neighboring grave of Dagmar. Dagmar left no descendants. Her son Valdemar, who had shared his father's captivity at Danneberg, and who had been crowned joint king with him when but six years old to secure the succession, died in 1231 at the age of twenty-three, from the wounds received while hunting. Shortly before this the prince's wife and son had been carried off by some sudden ailment, or possibly by poisoning. At any rate, by these two untoward events, Berangaria's three sons, Erik, Abel, and Christopher, were brought successively to the Danish throne. Their reigns and those of their immediate successors constitute a century of humiliation for Denmark that stands in pathetic contrast with the brilliant era of the two Valdemars. The monarchy is gradually stripped of its domain and for a time seems threatened with extinction; the nation loses its independence, the people their freedom, while the bold spirit that once distinguished them is departed.

Valdemar's excessive fondness for his children and a totally wrong conception of the character of the royal power lie at the basis of the terrible disasters which followed quickly upon his death. In order to make provision for his younger sons, he had given Slesvig to Abel and Laaland and Falster to Christopher, while Bleking and Halland he had bestowed upon his grandson, Nikolaus. When, therefore, Erik became king, he found that little more than the title of royalty was left him; for his brothers, on the plea that their father had given them full sovereignty over their respective lands, refused to do even feudal homage to the crown. The disputes which ensued when Erik tried to enforce his rights speedily plunged the land into civil war to the cost, of course, of the lives and property of the peasantry who needed most of all peace and the opportunity to till their fields. Besides his troubles with his brothers, Erik had numerous controversies with the counts

of Holstein, the Swedes, Lübeck, and the clergy, and by levying a tax upon plows to meet the extra expenses of an expedition into Esthonia he totally alienated the peasantry, who branded him, with hatred and derision, Plovpeng.

Erik's not very promising career was cut short by assassination at the instigation of his brother Abel. Learning that the death of the king had been accomplished by his outlaw minions, Abel immediately sent off to the Danish Islands to offer himself to the people as their king. At the same time he took a solemn oath before the Thing that he was guiltless of his brother's sudden taking off, and brought forward twenty-four nobles to swear to the truth of his word according to the ancient practice of compurgation. Compurgation, however, and perjury did not deceive the nation, yet for the sake of the memory of Valdemar Sejr the Danes would not withhold the crown from his eldest living son. Accordingly, in 1250, Abel assumed the crown. He ruled but two years—with benefit to his realm, it must be admitted—when he himself was assassinated on the occasion of his retreat from an unsuccessful campaign against the Ditmarshers, who of late years had become very unruly.

By a strange coincidence, almost at the very same time that Abel was murdered and his dead body left without burial in the Frisian marshes, the headless trunk of Erik was brought to the surface of the Slie by the shifting of the current, and the manner of his death became known beyond contradiction. The monks of Slesvig abbey, who were the first to discover the body and recognize it as that of the late king, buried the remains near the spot where they had been cast up. Soon a report was spread abroad that miracles were being wrought and marvelous cures being effected at Erik's tomb and for many decades the abbey derived large revenues from the pilgrims who flocked thither.

The violent deaths of Erik and Abel discloses to a degree the decline into which the Danish monarchy had sunk. It is, however, in the reign of their brother and successor, Christopher, which lasted from 1252 till 1259, that the various causes operating to the subversion of the royal power and the decay of Danish supremacy in the north become revealed in all their dimensions.

Foremost of these causes was the disorganization of the royal power itself, which had begun in the twelfth century with the practice followed by various monarchs of dividing the realm among

their sons. Civil war inevitably resulted from these partitionings, the princely appanages invariably attempting to transform themselves into personal and hereditary fiefs. At the same time the hereditary descent of the crown from father to eldest son had never been secured. Some kings, for instance Valdemar Sejr, had attempted to insure the succession to their sons by having the latter crowned in advance, but these arrangements were generally thwarted by ambitious uncles or brothers. The crown thus never lost its elective character and since the days of Svend Estridsen and Bishop Absalon, when the peasantry's share in choosing a monarch became negligible, the election had been by the nobility. The natural consequences of this arrangement became speedily evident, for though the choice must still be made from the royal family, yet competitors were usually numerous, and that one of the eligible rivals would be chosen therefore who was ready and willing to make the most liberal concessions to the electors. Christopher himself was chosen over the heads of Abel's several sons.

The power of the clergy was increasing step by step with that of the nobility. Liberally endowed by the early Estridsens, the bishops had their own castles, courts, and vassals, and exercised without let or hindrance the rights of coinage and other regalian powers. Thus the Archbishop of Lund had thirty-six fiefs at his disposal, including the cities and towns of the Island of Bornholm, and the Bishop of Roeskilde controlled forty-three fiefs. These extensive domains began in the early days of Erik Plovpeng to set up the pretense that they were exempt from the royal impost. The dispute thus created between the king and his clergy became open warfare in Christopher's reign with all the episodes typical of that species of strife.

In Erik Plovpeng's reign, as we have seen, the city of Lübeck, situated on the German coast of the Baltic, was able to sustain an annoying contest with its alleged suzerain, the King of Denmark. Lübeck was, however, but one of a number of flourishing commercial cities that had come to occupy the former places of ambush of the Wendish pirates, as these blood-letting personages had been converted to a more civilized way of life and had become correct Christian merchants. After the battle of Bornhöved some of these cities, like Dantzig, founded by Valdemar I., and Stettin, had been lost to the empire. Others, including Lübeck, had continued to pay a nominal homage to the Danish monarch, but to them also had

been accorded a generous measure of autonomy. Thus their burgher classes were permitted as a distinct body of the state to send representatives to the diet, and in the way of local liberties to have their own courts of justice and to settle their affairs in civic or town councils presided over by a mayor or burgomaster, although every town still had its royal bailiff, vested with certain judicial powers and with the duty of collecting certain dues for the crown. This grant, the work of Valdemar II., being of a political order, was without particular, at least detrimental, effect upon Denmark proper. Certain concessions extorted from Christopher by the men of Lübeck, and afterward extended to the other Hanseatic towns without regard to their political allegiance, were, on the other hand, of commercial import and of very serious consequence. Thus the exemption of the Hanseatic merchants from the Sound tolls not only diminished the royal revenues, but, taken together with the closer communion of the German cities with southern Europe and the Mediterranean traffic, gave those cities a monopoly of the commerce of the Baltic and North Seas, and blighted for centuries the commerce of the Danish towns. Likewise, the concession to German fishermen of the privilege of pursuing herring from their Pomeranian beds into Danish waters seriously injured the Danish fishing industry.

The situation in Denmark at the middle of the thirteenth century may be summed up thus: a peasantry declining into serfage; a painfully developing burgher class; a powerful territorial nobility rapidly developing out of the old system of local magnates; an ecclesiastical order, also wielding great territorial powers, slowly abandoning its alliance with the monarchy and casting in its lot with the lay magnates, against whose aggressions the monarchy is no longer a capable defender. In short, a feudal and sacerdotal oligarchy is superseding the Danish monarchy, which indeed was always a frail craft upon a wild sea of anarchy. Concomitant with this change is a transformation in the character of the instrumentalities of government. The old local Things, though from time to time they still assert themselves, have yielded in large part to the diet, Adelting, or Dannehof, which assumes more and more the right to limit the royal initiative, and in which, though the higher peasantry sent representatives to it as late as the fifteenth century, the prelates and great nobles preponderate. Of the same essential character was the more compact council of state, though this body

a strong monarch could hope to sway. Such, unfortunately for Denmark, were few and far between.

It was also in Christopher's reign that the series of Slesvig-Holstein wars began, which were to continue 600 years. South Jutland, or Slesvig, had always been a portion of Denmark, had the same constitution, same laws, same customs; for it was only relatively late that German colonists entered it, and then they remained in the southern part. However, the practice of partitioning the kingdom among the sons of the reigning monarch was especially perilous when applied to Slesvig on account of the proximity of the Holstein princes. This was proved by the fact that the first act of these princes upon Christopher's accession was to insist that he should confirm to his and their young nephews all the rights over the duchy of Slesvig which Abel had claimed in Eric's lifetime as due to him in accordance with the intentions of Valdemar Sejr. The conditions amounted practically to a demand that the independence of the duchy be recognized. Christopher refused, whereupon the Holsteiners made war on Denmark. After much fighting King Abel's son, Valdemar of Slesvig, was allowed to hold the duchy, but on what terms both parties purposely left to be settled at some other time.

In the following reign the young king, being imprisoned together with his mother, the queen-regent, by Erik, Valdemar of Slesvig's son, made an explicit pledge to recognize his captor's hereditary right to the duchy. Subsequently escaping, however, he claimed immunity from the promise made under duress. Immediately he was haled before the imperial court at Ratisbon, by whose decision in 1283 Duke Erik's heir, Valdemar, was formally put in possession of Slesvig as a vassal of the empire, and not till one hundred and sixty years later did the Danish monarch recover the duchy.

Christopher ended his reign in a struggle with Jakob Erlandsen, the primate, a man of great learning, who had been a fellow-student at Rome of the Pope, Innocent IV., and so devoted to the Roman Church that he considered his duty as a subject much less binding upon his conscience than his obligations as one of the clergy. Christopher threatened to call the clergy to account for their exercise of seignorial rights and their defiance of the royal ordinances. Erlandsen, in response, declared that unless the king ceased his attempts to curtail the privileges of the clergy, the

kingdom should be laid under an interdict. This so enraged Christopher that he caused the primate to be seized in his own palace and carried, chained like a common felon, to one of the royal castles, an act which, as might have been expected, brought down the wrath of Rome upon the entire kingdom. Denmark was laid under interdict and a sentence of excommunication passed upon the king and all who had taken part in the seizure and ill-treatment of the primate.

The people, however, at first paid little heed to these acts and as the clergy in Jutland and some of the islands refused obedience to the Papal decrees, the services of the church were still carried on in many parts of the kingdom. Christopher, emboldened by his success thus far, now determined to seize upon some of the crown lands held by the bishops, a resolution which was thwarted only by his sudden death while he was receiving the communion in the cathedral of Ribe. Immediately the tale became current among the people that the king had died from the effects of a poisoned wafer given him by Arnfast, and when Arnfast was subsequently elevated to the see of Aarhus the uncanny suspicion was not allayed.

Christopher was succeeded by his ten-year-old son, Erik Glipping the "Blinker," the queen, Margaret of Pomerania, acting as regent. Almost her first act was to release the primate from his captivity. Erlandsen refused, however, to be reconciled with the royal family, but hastened to Rome to lay his case before Pope Alexander IV. In 1273 Erik consented to be mulcted of 15,000 silver marks, whereupon the interdict was removed, after having been nominally in force fourteen years.

Chapter IX

NORWAY AND SWEDEN BEFORE THE UNION OF CALMAR. 1093-1397

OLAF'S son and successor, Magnus Barfod, who became king in 1093, greatly resembled his grandfather in character and proclivities. He was speedily involved in a quarrel with the Swedish monarch regarding the boundary line of the two realms. The war that followed was brought to an end in 1101 by Magnus's marriage to the Swedish princess, Margrete, who, on that account, became known as Fred Kulla, or the "peace maiden." Magnus now turned his arms against the western islands and Scotland, and, after forcing the natives of those places to pay him tribute, against the Isle of Man and Anglesea, both of which he also subdued. His final enterprise was directed against Ireland. Having ventured too far inland with a small following he was cut off from his ships by a band of Irish peasants and he and all his men were slain (1103). It is said that Magnus was given his nickname because of his adoption of the Scottish kilt, which excited the ridicule of his subjects. Magnus, undisturbed however, kept to the Highland dress to the end of his days.

Magnus's three sons, Ejsten, Sigurd, and Olaf were chosen joint kings to succeed their father. Sigurd presently set out for the Holy Land with a large fleet, which he turned against the pirates of the Mediterranean. Subsequently making his way to Jerusalem, he assisted in the capture of Sidon from the infidels. On his return he visited the Emperor Alexius at Constantinople, to whom on his departure overland for Norway he presented his fleet. Sigurd Jorsalafari returned to rule, for Olaf was now dead and Ejsten a negligible quantity. He did all he could to exalt the power of the clergy and to introduce the liturgy of southern Europe. He was also something of a legal reformer, abolishing many of the ancient forms of law and ordering that preference should be given to the ordeal of red-hot iron in the decision of doubtful cases. This practice turned out badly for Sigurd himself, for it happened that toward the close of his life a claimant to the

throne appeared from Ireland and demanded that the truth of his claim, which was that he was the son of Magnus Barfod, should be subjected to the test which Sigurd had prescribed. The king gave his consent, because he could not very well do otherwise, and when the impostor, who called himself Harald Gille, went through the ordeal successfully, loyally owned him as brother and associate.

Shortly afterward Sigurd died, leaving Harald Gille and his own son, Magnus, joint rulers. The former blinded the latter and next year was himself strangled in his bed at Bergen by a second Sigurd, who also claimed to be a son of Magnus Barfod. The new impostor, however, contented himself with the modest rôle of king-maker, and taking the blinded king, Magnus, from the prison into which he had been thrust, set him on the throne, but shortly afterward both Sigurd and Magnus were slain in battle with Harald Gille's adherents. A great many factions now sprang up in the anarchy-ridden country. The two most important were the *Birke-benerne,* or "Birchlegs," from their birchbark sandals, or leggings, and the *Baglerne,* or "Croziers," from the *bagall* or crozier, of the founder of the party, Nicholaus, Bishop of Oslö.

The leader of the Birchlegs was at first a certain Sverre, the son of a brushmaker of Drontheim, who had received some instruction to the end of becoming a priest. He gave himself out to be a son of the first Sigurd, and his successes against the numerous claimants to the throne were so considerable that in the year 1184 he was crowned at Bergen amid the acclamation of the people. But the lull of party strife was very brief and in 1202 Sverre died, worn out by constant warfare with the clerical faction, which was headed by the Archbishop of Drontheim and could always count on aid from Denmark, or at least on a safe retreat thither. Sverre's son, Hakon III., reigned but two years. His sudden death at Bergen in 1204 is generally attributed to poison mixed by his stepmother, Margaret, daughter of Saint Erik of Sweden. Nevertheless, the Birchlegs still seemed to have controlled the succession. Guttorm, a grandson of Sverre, held the throne a few months. Upon his death the crown went to Inge Baardsen, a nephew of the same monarch, who contended for thirteen years with varying success with four or five rivals. His successor was Hakon IV., who at any rate was represented by the Birchlegs as a son of Hakon III.

In the long reign of Hakon IV., from 1217 to 1262, Norway

emerged for the moment into something like European prominence. In his youth Hakon brought low one enemy after another, ending with Skule Baardsson, his father-in-law, whom he had made ruler of a third of his kingdom with the title of "Jarl of Norway," but who soon came to aim at nothing short of the royal power. In 1240 Skule caused himself to be proclaimed king and advanced upon Drontheim at the head of his partisans, among whom he could reckon many of the great magnates of the realm. The rebel army was completely defeated by Hakon at Oslö, and Skule himself was forced to seek refuge in a monastery, within whose walls he was shortly after murdered.

Norway now enjoyed a greater degree of peace than it had experienced for a century before. Hakon displayed great ability in restoring order to his kingdom and his fame for valor and piety became European. Thus Louis IX. of France sent a special embassy to Norway to solicit Hakon's aid in a crusade, and the Pope urged him to take arms against the Emperor Frederick II. Hakon tactfully and sensibly refused to give ear to either project. He had, in fact, objects of ambition much nearer home.

The inhabitants of Iceland had enjoyed independence since the days of their initial settlement in the time of Harald Haarfager. They enjoyed the sway of a system of laws with many features of exceptional humanity, but unfortunately among the great families of the island immemorial antagonisms subsisted which kept the entire populace involved in incessant and destructive warfare. Especially ambitious was the powerful family of the Sturles, the chief representative of whom at this moment was Snorre Sturleson. Snorre had, as head of public affairs in Iceland, raised up a host of enemies by what was alleged to be his arrogant conduct. It happened, therefore, that Hakon, aware of his opportunity, determined to conquer Iceland. He of course found no trouble in inciting the Icelanders to revolt against their own chieftain. Long years of warfare ensued, but at last in 1241, Snorre having been murdered by his son-in-law, all Iceland was brought completely under the control of Norway. The subjugation of Greenland shortly followed.

Toward the close of his reign Hakon invaded Scotland with a powerful fleet, intending to recover the lands which the Norwegians had once held in that region. It is quite impossible to harmonize the divergent accounts given of this event by Scotch

and Norwegian chroniclers. It seems, however, to be beyond dispute that King Alexander III. of Scotland surprised the Norwegians while they were conducting a landing on the coast of Ayr, and in a battle fought at Largs about 1261 so thoroughly defeated them that the small remnant of invaders was glad to take ship for the Orkneys. Here Hakon was seized with an illness of which he died in the spring of the year 1262 at Kirkwall. His son, Magnus, who had married a daughter of Alexander III., sold the Hebrides, according to the Norwegian account, to his royal father-in-law for a large sum of money. The Scotch rendition of the affair is that Magnus was forced to renounce all claims to the islands without any compensation whatever. Besides his title to fame as a conqueror, Magnus left behind the honorable name of Lagabaeter, or Law-betterer, in recognition of his collection and codification of the valuable portion of the old customary law.

Erik, known as Praesthader or Priest-hater, ruled from 1280 to 1299. His epithet tells the story. He did not, in the least, succeed in winning the love of his monkish chroniclers, being indisposed to admit the right that the clergy claimed to immunity from taxation. He was, moreover, almost incessantly at war with the Danes on account of his mother, Queen Ingeborg's dowry, which had never been paid. He also had an interminable quarrel with the Scotch on account of the heritage of his daughter, Margrete; also, many disputes with the Hansers, whose trading rights he patriotically tried to curtail. Most grievous of his misfortunes was a personal one, namely the death of his daughter, Margrete, who died at sea while on her way to Scotland to lay claim to the throne on the death of her grandfather, Alexander III. In the absence of male issue Erik was succeeded to the throne in 1299 by his brother, Hakon, with the title of Hakon V. Upon this ruler's death in 1319 the infant Magnus of Sweden, son of Hakon's daughter Ingeborg, was received as king by the people of Norway. This is the Magnus Smek of Swedish history. In 1350 Magnus resigned the Norwegian throne to his second son, Hakon, who had married Margaret of Denmark, and who now took the title of Hakon VI. In 1375 Hakon's son Olaf, then but five years of age, was chosen king of Denmark under the regency of his mother, Margaret. Upon Hakon's death in 1380 the same arrangement was accepted by the people of Norway, to endure till Olaf's death in 1387. Upon the death in 1056 of Edmund Gamle, the last of the

Ynglingjar whose control of the sacred precincts of Upsala constituted the chief title of the kings of Svithjod to their sway over the men of Gothland, a relentless struggle broke out between the two races. In the decade 1056 to 1066 the Göta had a Christian king, Stenkil, who seems to have held sway finally over both the Svea and Göta, pagans and Christians. The century that followed his demise was, however, a period of turmoil and carnage to which both racial antagonism and religious animosity contributed. The cause of Christianity was barely kept alive by small groups of heroic monks who ventured to come up from Skaania from time to time to found churches, which were generally soon burned down by the heathen reactionaries. At one time, indeed, both Svea and Göta obeyed a pagan king, and, renouncing Christianity, united in sacrifice to Odin. At another time there was no king at all, the chief law-explainers or primitive justiciars ruling each in his own district.

Sverker Karlsson was a Christian king and in his period, 1135-1155, the disorder in Sweden began to diminish. Sverker erected churches and monasteries, invited Cistercian monks to his realm, and even sent an embassy to the Pope, praying that bishops might be settled in Sweden and that a place might be chosen for the see of a primate, the primacy of the Danish Archbishop of Lund being extremely irksome to the Swedes. In response, the Pope sent Cardinal Nicholaus Albinensis, later Adrian IV., the first and only English Pope, to Sweden to investigate the question of an archbishopric for that country. When, however, the Svea and the Göta were unable to agree upon the choice of a district for the primate's see, the best that the Pope's legate could do was to erect the Norwegian bishopric of Drontheim into a metropolitanate and to assign Sweden to its jurisdiction. The Swedish monarch in return guaranteed the payment of Peter's pence to the court of Rome.

Sverker's old age was troubled by civil wars in which his own son took a hostile part until he was murdered by some peasants whom he had outraged. Shortly after this event Sverker himself was assassinated by his own attendants, on the plea that he had shown himself incompetent and cowardly in dealing with the Danes, who were now assailing the Swedish coasts. Erik Jedvardsson was the choice of the Svea to succeed Sverker, and, though the Göta at first resisted Erik's authority, they, too, were finally

induced, partly by dint of diplomacy and partly by force, to accept him. The ancient saga tells us that King Erik the Saint laid three things to his heart: to build churches and to improve the services of religion, to rule his people according to law and right, and to overpower the enemies of his faith and realm. Besides his title as saint Erik has also the epithet "the law-giver," and as such he won the especial love and gratitude of the women of Sweden by his numerous laws in their behalf. Henceforth every wife might claim equal power with her husband over locks, bolts, and bars. She had a legal claim to half his bed during his life, which meant that she could not be ruthlessly divorced. Lastly, she was entitled to enjoy one-third of his substance after his death.

Till Erik's time the worship of Odin had continued at Upsala. Now, however, a primate's see arose at Gamla Upsala and the learned and pious Henrik was appointed its first incumbent. Like the great Absalon a warrior as well as churchman, and an enthusiastic missionary in both capacities, Henrik lost his life on a crusade against the pagan Finns. Erik himself owed his death to an invasion of upper Sweden by the Danish prince, Magnus Henriksen. His virtues and piety secured him the love of his people, who, though he was never canonized, worshiped him as their patron saint. For many years his remains were preserved in the cathedral at Upsala and honored as holy relics, his arms were emblazoned on the national flag of Sweden, and the figure of the sainted king still appears on the seal of the town of Stockholm.

Erik, the first of the Bondar, died in 1160, and Erik Laespe, the last of that race of kings, died in 1250. The intervening century was a period of war and assassination, and of misery for the whole country. The only class to prosper was the clergy and they were the only ones who did aught to mitigate the evil of the times. Particularly did the priesthood strive to induce the people to surrender their pagan practices of indiscriminate divorce and the exposure of infants. It was in this period, also, that the monks, who came largely from England, first taught the Swedes how properly to till the ground, to prepare salt, to build and operate water mills, and to construct roads and bridges. A great number of these monks met violent deaths, but their memory has lingered even to the present day in the different districts in which they carried on their labors. Thus the people of Westmannland long honored the Irish David as a saint, while in Soedermanland and Norland the relics

of the English martyrs, Bothard, Askill, and Stephen, were for many ages cherished with greatest reverence.

Denmark, of course, often seized the opportunity to meddle in the quarrels of the Bondars and Sverkers, extending asylum to the defeated princes of each party in turn. Thus Sverker Karlsson, having murdered all but one of the grandsons of Saint Erik, found refuge from the rage of the Swedish people at the court of Valdemar II., who lent him a fleet and an army. Sverker's defeat by his former subjects in West Gothland in 1208 was a body-blow at the Danish conqueror's project of adding Sweden to his dominions. Indeed, Valdemar II., in making peace with Erik Knudsson, Saint Erik's surviving grandson, gave him his own sister, Rikissa, in marriage. Sweden was still a barbarous country, compared even with Denmark. It was related that when the young princess landed in West Gothland and found that there were no carriages of any kind, but that she would have to make the long journey to her husband's court on horseback, she made bitter complaint, much to the disgust of the Swedish women in attendance. "Our queens," they declared, "have never yet been too weak to sit upon a horse." Rikissa had one son, Erik, surnamed Laespe, or "the Halt." In 1222, upon the death of Johan Sverkersson, the last of the Sverker line, this prince, the last of the Bondars, succeeded to the Swedish throne, his reign lasting till 1250.

At the same time that the two ancient rival families of Sweden were declining in power a new and greater family was rising into affluence and prominence, the Folkungar, to whose chief, the rich and powerful Birger Brosa, King Erik had finally—though much against his will—granted the title of "Jarl of the Swedes and the Goths." The rank of jarl gave Birger much political power, at the same time that his wealth enabled him to live in a princely manner. Birger also courted the favor of the clergy with great success, by his championship of their claims to immunity, and he won the good-will of all devout churchmen by setting on foot a crusade against the pagan Finns, who were thus induced by fire and sword to renounce their old faith and receive baptism.

Birger being absent from Sweden when Erik Laespe died, the Swedish council of state took advantage of his absence to choose his youthful son, Valdemar, king. This was the work of Ivar Blaa, who was able to answer the argument that Valdemar, as the son of Birger Jarl, would be entirely under the control of that am-

bitious chieftain, by showing that Valdemar's election was indeed the only choice which the jarl would not dispute. The young king was accordingly conducted to Upsala and presented at the Mora Stone to the people for their homage, and carried thence on his royal progress, or "Erik's course," which was completed before the jarl's return to Sweden.

Birger's return to the kingdom was marked by loud complaints against the council and unavailing threats to induce the people to set aside his son's election on the ground that it was not according to the ancient law which required the jarl's assent to a royal election. "Who was the traitor who dared to elect a king in my absence?" demanded Birger of the first session of the Dannehof. "I was the man," responded the knight Ivar; "and if my choice does not suit you it is evident where alone we could have found a king more to your mind." "Whom would you choose," inquired Birger, "if you were to set my son aside?" "We would think about that," answered Ivar. "But there is no lack of choice. Sweden might find a king to suit her under this cloak of mine." The upshot of the matter was that Birger Jarl discreetly decided to let well enough alone and to take his place as chief seneschal at Valdemar's coronation at Linköping. Indeed, from that time till his death, in 1266, the jarl was the real, though not the nominal, king of Sweden, which he ruled with a vigor and prudence exceptional in the annals of that country. He kept the nobles in check, encouraged knightly training, abolished the ordeal, and, abolishing the ancient maxim "where the cap comes in the hat goes out," conferred upon daughters a right of inheritance one-half that of sons. He is also credited with having founded Stockholm; at any rate he fortified it and raised it to the rank of an important stronghold, which thenceforth became one of the realm's chief defenses against the attacks of Finnish pirates.

The value of Birger's control of affairs is seen from the fact that as soon as his hand was withdrawn, Valdemar and his brothers, Duke Magnus and Prince Erik, began to distract the realm with their quarrels. In the midst of these Valdemar brought upon himself the anger of the clergy by his practical divorce of his queen, Sofia, whose place was taken by her sister, the nun Jutta. To rid himself of the reproach of having brought this twofold scandal upon religion, Valdemar, in 1274, made by way of penance a pilgrimage to Rome. This gave Magnus, who acted as regent, and

Erik opportunity to take whatever measures their interests dictated. The next year with the aid of men and money furnished by the King of Denmark, they compelled Valdemar to flee his realm. The fugitive sought refuge in Norway at first, but venturing back shortly he was captured and imprisoned by Duke Magnus and forced to renounce the crown of Sweden in return for the lordship of East Gothland. Valdemar subsequently withdrew to Denmark, but again returned to Sweden in 1288. Again seized by the order of his brother, he was from this time on kept under mild restraint in the castle of Nyköping until his death in 1302. His son, Erik, never made any attempt to regain the crown from his usurping uncle.

In the meantime Magnus was proving himself an able ruler, putting down the revolts of his wealthy and unruly kinsmen of the Folkungar family, and perfecting the work which his father had begun of ridding the law of its obsolete and inequitable features. Magnus owed his pseudonym Ladulaas, "Barnlock," to a law which he secured limiting the right of purveyance, a severe burden to the peasantry. "No Roman emperor could wish for himself a nobler appellation than Ladulaas," says the writer of the old Swedish chronicle, "and very few could have laid claim to it, for the epithet Ladubrott, 'Barnbreaker,' would fit most rulers much better." The most important feature of Magnus's legal reforms, however, connects itself with the transformation, which the character of the old Swedish nobility had been long undergoing, from that of local magnates to that of a semi-feudal nobility of service. Magnus now settled by definite legislation the kind of service that the crown might exact from each order in the state. Men were distinguished as *Frälse,* "Free," and as *Ofrälse,* "not Free," the freedom in question being merely exemption from taxation and having nothing to do with freedom of person or property. In return for their exemption from taxation, the class of Frälse had to furnish military service with horses, as well as men, against the king's enemies, whence the term *russ-tjenst.* In addition to their service on the field, the members of this nobility were expected to remain near the king's person at court, available for council and honorable ministrations to the royal comfort and dignity. Magnus himself kept a court of unprecedented brilliance for his realm and spent much time and energy in encouraging the practices of knighthood followed in southern Europe. He was also an un-

wearying champion of the church and clergy. In the course of his reign he founded five monasteries and bestowed large sums on various religious establishments throughout his kingdom. At his death in 1290 his body at his own request was placed in the Franciscan monastery of his own foundation in Stockholm. 'In the hope,' as he declared in his testament, 'that his memory might not pass away with the sound of his funeral bells.'

Magnus left three sons, Birger, Erik, and Valdemar. Birger, the eldest and the first to be made king, was but nine years of age in 1290, but as long as his father's friend, Marshal Torkel Knutsson, governed for him all went well. The Finns, as in Birger Jarl's day, were again brought under subjection to the Swedish crown, and under the sway of Christianity. A new and complete code of laws, based upon Magnus's reforms, was laid before the people at the Great Thing of 1295 and approved by them, and many measures were taken for the development of the realm. This was during the regency. As soon as Birger began to reign on his own responsibility things began to go awry. Anticipating Charles I.'s ingratitude to Strafford, almost the first act of the foolish young king was to hand over the faithful Torkel to be tried and condemned for alleged treason. This measure Birger designed to conciliate his brothers. No sooner, however, had Erik and Valdemar thus freed themselves from the wholesome restraint of the marshal's influence in the state, than they seized the king himself and kept him in confinement till he had signed a treaty whereby they were left to govern their provinces as virtual sovereigns. Even this concession did not win their support for the monarchy, but later on, in alliance with the kings of Norway and Denmark, they proceeded to lay waste their brother's kingdom in every part, despoiling whole districts of every vestige of food and fodder.

Finally, by the advice of his queen, Marta, daughter of Erik Glipping, Birger made up his mind to get rid of his traitorous brethren. In the autumn of 1317 the King and Queen of Sweden were holding court at the castle of Nyköping. Learning that Valdemar was on his way from Oeland to Stockholm, they invited him and his brother, Duke Erik, to spend the yule-tide with them. The two princes accepted the invitation and were welcomed with every appearance of friendship by the king, who, however, requested his guests to allow their retainers to take up quarters in the town, alleging with apologies the smallness of the castle. The request

being complied with, the bridges of the castle were raised, the gates locked, and the two princes thrown in chains into the remotest dungeon. "At last!" cried the exultant king, "I have Sweden in my own hands." His words, however, were but an empty boast. A few months later the people of Nyköping arose in revolt to avenge the two princes, who had in the meantime succumbed to the rigors of their confinement. The castle of Nyköping was razed to the ground, and in 1319, the revolt having become general, Birger, with his queen and daughter, fled to the Danish court, where his son, Magnus, was already a refugee. The following year Magnus ventured back to Sweden, and, falling into the hands of his foes, was publicly beheaded at Stockholm.

This calamity brought Birger himself to the grave. He was buried at Ringsted abbey, the resting-place of many of the early Danish kings.

In Sweden, in the meantime, the people were rallying enthusiastically to the following of Mats Ketilmundsson, who on midsummer-day, 1319, appeared before the assembly of the Thing at Upsala and persuaded the people to receive as king Duke Erik's son, Magnus, an infant scarcely three years of age. The next year a number of the Swedish nobility having undertaken an embassy to Norway to demand the homage of that kingdom for Magnus, who through his mother, Ingeborg, daughter of Hakon V., was really the nearest heir to the Norwegian crown, succeeded in their quest and secured the organization of a council of state to govern the kingdom in Magnus's name until he should obtain his majority. The years immediately following seem to have been a prosperous era for both kingdoms. In the year 1332 representatives came from the provinces of Skaania, Halland, and Bleking, which had been pawned by Erik Menved and Christopher II. of Denmark to the Swedish council of state, offering to take oaths of allegiance to King Magnus on behalf of themselves and their countrymen, if only they might be united to the Swedish kingdom. From the Gulf of Finland to the fjords of Norway, and to the Sound, the entire north now owned Magnus's sway. Not till 1336, however, with the death of Mats Ketilmundsson did Magnus's sole reign begin, and then there was a sudden close to the long period of prosperity. The young king and his queen were governed by their own selfish desires for pleasure and were entirely in the control of evil and designing favorites. Furthermore, they found it im-

possible to reside in one kingdom without exciting the resentment and jealousy of the other. Thus things went from bad to worse. In the year 1350 the king's elder son, Prince Erik, putting himself at the head of the most powerful elements of the kingdom, formally demanded that the king and queen should exile their unworthy favorite, Bengl Algotsson. At the same moment the Norwegians asked to have Hakon, Magnus's second son, set over them as their independent ruler. Soon afterward Prince Erik, who was very popular, died under circumstances that gave rise to the suspicion that he had been poisoned by his mother, Queen Blanka. Three other causes for revolt were shortly added by Magnus: his surrender to King Valdemar Atterdag of Denmark of the provinces of Skaania, Halland, and Bleking, in return for a secret promise of aid against the Swedish Dannehof; his marriage of his young son, Hakon, to Margaret of Denmark, another ruse of the crafty Danish monarch; and his order compelling the exile of twenty-four of the most powerful nobles of Sweden. The exiles made haste to obey the order, but it was only to betake themselves to the court of Mecklenburg to offer the Swedish crown to Count Albert, son of King Magnus's only sister, Euphemia. The count accepted with joy, and landing in the autumn of the same year, 1363, on the Swedish coast, was at once chosen king by the Great Thing, which at the same time declared that both Magnus and Hakon had forfeited the allegiance of the people on account of their lack of good faith in their dealings with their subjects and their friendly conduct with the enemies of the kingdom. In a battle fought between the rival kings at Enköping in 1365 Magnus was taken captive, and was not set at liberty till 1371. In that year it was settled by a treaty between Albert and Hakon, that Magnus might enjoy certain revenues and reside at the Norwegian court, on condition that neither he nor his son should make any attempt to regain the Swedish crown.

Magnus Smek was partly the victim of circumstance, for it was in his unhappy reign in the decade between 1350 and 1360 that the Black Death swept over Norway and Sweden. What with its ravages and the incessant devastations of civil strife, many parishes were left almost depopulated.

Albert of Mecklenburg had been chosen king by the nobles of Sweden under the impression that he would prove a mere puppet in their hands. They found, however, that he was less pliable than

they had fondly supposed. Their anger at their disappointment was aggravated by the new king's introduction into Sweden of a great crowd of German favorites, upon whom he proceeded to bestow all the offices of state that he could lay his hands upon. A movement was now set on foot looking to the restoration of King Magnus. The support of the peasantry was secured by an appeal to the council of state, in which the nobility joined, praying for the relief of the lower orders from their heavy burdens. This rôle of defenders of the people fell in well with the systematic opposition of the nobility to the monarchy. It was, however, a mere pretext. In point of fact the nobles cared very little about the troubles of the peasantry. Their own petty grievances being temporarily allayed, they found it easy and convenient to forget their erstwhile championship of the popular cause. Indeed, the people lost all around. For King Albert, in looking about for outside support, conferred upon the Hansers an extension of their already great privileges in trade, much to the detriment of Swedish commerce.

Meanwhile, Albert still persisted in his irritating partiality toward his German favorites, and at last the council of state again roused itself to make protest. Albert was informed that if he wished to retain the Swedish crown, the higher offices of state and particularly the command of the royal fortresses must devolve upon Swedes. In 1371 a compromise was effected whereby the king chose Bo Jonsson, the richest and most powerful member of the Swedish nobility, to be, as the phrase ran, the king's "all-powerful helper." Jonsson was vested with authority "over the royal courts, palace, lands, officers, and servants, and to choose the members of the council of state, when any should be removed by death, and in all things to enjoy regal power." As the Rhyming Chronicle has it: "Bo Jonsson ruled the land with the glance of his eye." In fact, however, he showed himself either unable or unwilling to quell in any degree the license of the nobility or to put a stop to the private warfare which was rampant at the time. Bo Jonsson himself on one occasion followed an enemy, Carl Nilsson, into the church of the Franciscans at Stockholm and hacked him to pieces before the high altar. His death in 1385, followed as it was by a claim on the part of his heirs to his position in the state, gave the signal for the general civil war which had long been impending. This shortly led to the Danish conquest.

Chapter X

DENMARK AND THE UNION OF CALMAR. 1286-1412

THE downfall of the Hohenstaufen in the sixth decade of the thirteenth century marks the end of active pretensions on the part of the empire over Denmark proper, though many voluntary acts of Danish sovereigns evidence the persistence of the imperial tradition down to the very beginning of the sixteenth century. The achievement of independence did not, however, check the decline into political insignificance which had begun under the sons of Valdemar II. and continued till the Union of Calmar. In 1286 Erik Glipping was assassinated, bringing his son, Erik Menved, the "Hesitant," to the throne. The accession of the son was, in a number of ways, the counterpart of that of the father three decades before. Here again was a boy-king under the tutelage and regency of a mother who was unable to speak the language of the country.

She was called upon to rule; again a general defection among the nobles and higher clergy; again rebels laying waste the country. These latter were for the most part the regicides and their followers, who enjoyed the patronage of the Norwegian king, Erik Praesthader. They were thus powerful enough at first to seize several fortified places along the Danish coasts and upon adjoining islands, and from these strongholds to spread their devastation with fire and sword for nearly a decade. At last, however, the fidelity of a small element of the nobility, headed by the learned chancellor, Martinus de Dacia, whose fame was European, and the ability of the regent herself, Agnes of Brandenburg, brought these troubles to a close. The death in 1293 of the Marshal Stig, the most formidable of the rebels, was followed shortly after by the capture of another, Rane Jonsen, who was promptly broken on the wheel. The frightful scourge to which these pirates had subjected the entire kingdom now ceased.

Meanwhile, the young king and his brother, Prince Christopher, had been undergoing careful training in all knightly exercises

under the marshal, or drost peder. Unfortunately, however, this martial schooling imbued the youthful Erik with such an enthusiasm for war, that, having become actually monarch, he was no longer content with its mimic exercises. So in spite of the distress and famine rampant in Denmark, he entered upon costly and useless campaigns against the Christian as well as the pagan lands of eastern Germany. In later years, when his impoverished subjects were no longer able to supply money for these bootless enterprises, or for the splendid tournaments which he held in honor of his empty successes in Pomerania and Esthonia, he pawned or sold nearly all the crown lands, till at last there was scarcely an acre remaining of the once extensive domain of the Danish monarch, and this, it must be remembered, was in an age when the fiscal machinery of modern governments was still in embryo and the returns from his crown lands and other personal holdings constituted the most important source of revenue of every ruler in Europe. Erik's folly, moreover, impaired not only the position of the monarchy, but also the means of livelihood of his subjects; for among his other sacrifices he parted with a long strip of coastlands, with all the herring fisheries in the adjacent seas, to the Hanse traders, who, in the enforcement of their concession, stationed armed vessels in the waters in question for the purpose of seeing to it that the servants of the royal household left the fishing grounds as soon as they had salted one day's catch of herring for the royal kitchen.

But long before this final abject condition of his finances Erik had become involved in a furious contest with the church. The occasion was afforded by the choice of Johan Grand to succeed Erlandsen as Archbishop of Lund, despite the objections of Erik and the dowager, who believed that Grand had given aid and comfort to the regicides in the struggle not yet ended. Indeed, no sooner had Grand achieved the primacy than he revealed his alliance with the rebels and his readiness to assist in all measures calculated to discredit the monarch. Erik now ordered Prince Christopher to seize the recalcitrant archbishop and to put him in Soborg keep. It seems probable that the prince carried out his instructions with great harshness and that during his confinement the primate was subjected to continual outrage. After eight months of this sort of treatment, however, he was assisted by some monks to escape to Bornholm and thence to Rome. At this moment the Papal throne

was occupied by Boniface VIII., who surpassed even the most powerful of his predecessors in his statement of the Papal prerogative, declaring in the famous Bull of *Unam Sanctam* that it was "altogether necessary to salvation for every human being to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." It may be imagined with what avidity his holiness drank in the highly colored account that Grand gave him of his wrongs and of the insult that Erik had leveled at the church. Without waiting to hear the other side of the story, Boniface promptly mulcted Erik of 49,000 ounces of silver for the benefit of the Papal camera. Erik now forwarded to Rome an elaborate statement of his case with the result that the Pope interpreted it as a defiance and more incensed than ever at such presumption, ordered his legate Isarnus to lay Denmark under an interdict. But, as on former occasions, the interdict was only a very partial success. The people, partly because they sympathized with the king, but more because of their sense of the absolute necessity of the ministrations of the church, were quite willing to brave the authority of the Pope. Thus, when the clergy tried to close the churches, the peasantry rushed to arms and forced their priests to perform, at the peril of their lives, the offices of religion. Nevertheless, the victory in the end lay with the Pope. In 1303 after the interdict had been in force five years Erik addressed a most contrite letter to the Pope, begging for pardon and for the relief of his kingdom from the Papal curse. The request was granted. Erik paid 10,000 ounces of silver into the Papal treasury, and was permanently relieved of Johan Grand, who was given an archbishopric in France. Grand's successor was Esger Juel, with whom also Erik, toward the close of his reign, became involved in a quarrel, and who was likewise compelled to emigrate.

King Erik was as unfortunate in his family concerns as in his conduct of public affairs, for of all his fourteen children not one survived him. Naturally, therefore, in his declining days he began to feel considerable concern as to who should be his successor, and knowing the ambitious and deceitful character of his only brother, Duke Christopher, he called together the nobles and prelates of Denmark, and, telling them that he apprehended his own life to be near its close, begged them to take counsel together and settle upon some prince for their future king, who would prove a just ruler. The council of state thereupon nominated Duke Christopher, apparently ignoring Erik's unfavorable opinion.

This was not really the case, however, for when Erik died next year this unscrupulous organ of the nobility determined to make Christopher pay right smartly for his dignity. By the terms of the charter of 1319, which Christopher was compelled to sign and which in certain respects reminds one of the Magna Charta, the nobles and clergy were freed from all taxation by the king, and were excused from the duty of carrying their arms beyond the limit of Denmark in defense of the kingdom. At the same time the king must ransom them if they should chance to be taken prisoners of war. In short, nobles and prelates, now at the height of their power, took such good care of their own interests that very little power was left to the monarch. Christopher, however, made no protest against the hard bargain that he was forced to accept, but he secretly resolved to bide his time and to cast off the agreement as soon as possible.

In the course of the civil wars which inevitably ensued the nobles called in a powerful neighbor to their assistance, Count Gerhard, of Holstein.

"Black Geert" speedily routed the king's troops and took his eldest son Prince Erik captive. Instead of letting Christopher have a share in the guardianship of young Valdemar of Slesvig, which the Danish king had claimed as a right, he drove the king himself out of the kingdom, and, persuading the Danes to declare the throne vacant, set Duke Valdemar, his own nephew, thereon.[1] For fourteen years Black Geert was the real king of Denmark, of whose lands and people he made about what disposition he chose, while Christopher and his sons, although sometimes able to make head for a time against their foes, were seldom left very long in the enjoyment of power. Christopher's death in 1332 did not alter the situation materially and for eight years longer the Danes were under the sway of the Count of Holstein. Finally, in the year 1341, Denmark was freed from her taskmaster by the daring Niels Ebbesön, who, with sixty-three serving men, forced his way into the castle of Randers and slew Count Geert in the midst of his own people and of his army of newly levied Germans.

Immediately the great Holstein army seemed to melt away. The Jutlanders rose in a body, and, placing themselves under the command of Niels Ebbesön, stormed the German forts, carried

[1] Valdemar of Slesvig, crowned King of Denmark as Valdemar III., was the cousin of King Christopher II.

everything before them, and drove the Holsteiners back to their own territory. Later, new armies, led by Geert's son, Henry, the "Iron Count," appeared in Jutland and defeated Niels Ebbesön in a fierce battle at Skandersborg, where the latter fell, together with two of his own sons and a large number of his men. But the Iron Count cared merely to take vengeance on his father's murderer, so, withdrawing his troops after his victory at Skandersborg, he left his cousin, Valdemar of Slesvig, and the Danish princes to decide as they liked upon the fate of Denmark. Thus, from the moment Christopher obtained the crown till the murder of Geert in 1340 the country had been torn by civil war, and while a few nobles made themselves powerful at the expense of the crown, many old families were reduced to beggary, the remnants of trade were destroyed, and the peasants were so crushed that they sunk into what was little better than slavery.

At Christopher's death in 1332 he left only two sons, his eldest, Prince Erik, having died some years before in a useless attempt to recover the crown for him. Otto, the second son, was a prisoner in Holstein. The youngest, Valdemar, was living in peace at the court of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, who had given him a kind reception, when, after the defeat of his father and brothers, he had fled to Germany. This young prince, who had been spending his time in jousting and other amusements while his native country was being brought to ruin by its enemies, was the one on whom the choice of the Danes fell, when by the murder of Count Geert they found themselves free to elect a king. Valdemar of Slesvig was entirely ignored. Indeed, he made no effort to retain the crown, but on the arrival of the young Danish Prince Valdemar from Germany entered into a friendly compact with him, and not only refused to oppose his election to the throne, but gave him his sister, Hedwig, in marriage, with a dowry of 24,000 silver marks. He then retired to his own Slesvig territories well pleased to be free of the trouble of ruling such an unhappy and impoverished kingdom as Denmark. Nothing now stood in the way of the new king's success, and after he had forced his brother Otto to renounce all claim to the throne and to enter the monastic order of the German Knights, as the price of his liberty, he had no other rival to fear.

Valdemar, like Henry VII. of England, from the moment of his accession till the day of his death in 1375, made the acquisition

of money the chief object of his policy, not because he cared to hoard wealth, but because he was eager to recover the lost crown lands that Erik Menved had pawned, and because he knew well that only by achieving financial independence could he hope to restore the decayed authority of the monarchy, which was now at its lowest ebb, against the disintegrating tendencies of the nobility. It is even said that Valdemar loved his wife, Princess Hedwig of Slesvig, only on account of her dowry. At any rate, as soon as the money was in his possession he used it to redeem a large part of Jutland. Soon afterward, with the 19,000 silver marks which he got from the German Knights in return for the province of Esthonia, he recovered another large tract, lying also within the old Danish monarchy. The people were well pleased to watch the recovery of its domain by the crown as long as the king raised money without asking them for it. But when he began to levy taxes for the same purpose, owing to the evil lessons of the previous years of habitual disorder they rose into rebellion.

The civil wars dragged on desultorily for several years, being constantly rekindled and fanned into flame by numerous adjoining princes, who had a notion that the humiliation of Denmark meant their aggrandizement. At last, in 1360, the frugal Valdemar concluded that a more expeditious way to get money than by taxation would be to attack the rich Hanse town of Wisby on the Island of Gothland. He had no quarrel with the Hanse traders at the time; had, indeed, only just signed a treaty in which he had pledged himself to respect their rights and to give due notice if ever he meant to make war on any of their cities. These treaties, however, were no obstacle to Valdemar. Having set eyes on the stores of money, rich silks, furs, and other costly wares that were housed away in Wisby to be sent on to the ports of the northern seas, he resolved to seize them. Without giving notice, therefore, he attacked the island with a great fleet, forced the Gothlanders to submit, and made himself master of Wisby, riding into the town through a breach in the walls after the manner of the great conquerors of olden times. Then loading his ships with gold, silver and an immense booty of all kinds, he sailed back to Denmark in high glee, calling himself from that time forth king of the Goths, as well as of the Danes.

He was not left, however, to enjoy his success very long, for the Hansers and the Swedes were equally enraged, and, although

the latter did no more than threaten, the former made war in good earnest against Valdemar. When the German heralds came in great state to the castle of Vordingborg, where the king was then holding his court, and began to read aloud their formal notice of war, he made sport of them and bade them go back to the seventy-seven German towns in whose name they had come. It is said that Valdemar, to show his contempt for the traders, sent them a letter in rhyme of which the following was one of the least coarse and offensive verses:

"If seventy-seven ganders
Come cackling, come cackling at me;
If seventy-seven Hansers
Come crowing, come crowing at me;
Do you think I care two stivers?
Not I! I care not two stivers!"

The Germans were beaten both at sea and on land at the beginning of the war and Valdemar caused his prisoners to be shut up in one of the towers of Vordingborg castle, over which he set a gilt goose as an insult to the traders. These insults merely served to increase the bitterness of the German traders toward the Danes; they proceeded to collect an overwhelming fleet; also to make common cause with the counts of Holstein and with Albert of Mecklenburg, who had private grievances of their own to avenge upon Valdemar. The Holstein princes were angry because the Danish king had seized their sister, the Princess Elizabeth of Holstein-Gottorp, as she was on her way to Sweden to marry Hakon, heir to the Swedish and Norwegian crowns, and had kept her closely guarded in his own palace on the pretense that he was extremely solicitous for her health which was, he was sure, too delicate to allow her to cross the sea at that stormy season of the year.

Valdemar's real motive had, of course, been a far different one; namely, to prevent the marriage of Elizabeth with the Swedish prince, as he had set his heart upon seeing his own little daughter, Margaret, married to the future king of Sweden and Norway. When, therefore, the ship in which Elizabeth was making the voyage ran ashore on the coast of Sjaelland, Valdemar was not slow to see his opportunity. Sending an urgent message to the King and Queen of Sweden to beg that they would bring their son to spend the yule-tide with him, he made all things ready, and when they arrived he persuaded them to consent to the marriage of

Prince Hakon with his daughter, Margaret, and let the wedding be celebrated at once; also, incidentally, to give up the bonds and charters by which Sweden held in pawn Skaania and the other Danish provinces, pledged by King Christopher. There was great rejoicing at Copenhagen in honor of the marriage, and feasting and jousting went on day after day for the entertainment of the Swedish princes. But before the close of all this merry-making Queen Blanka of Sweden was taken ill and died, whereupon King Magnus offered to take the Holstein princess to be his second wife, if he could be sure of getting her large dowry. The unfortunate Elizabeth, refusing with anger to listen to the king's offers, dispatched secret messengers to inform her brothers of the shameful manner in which she had been treated, and to entreat that they would avenge the wrongs she had suffered at King Valdemar's hands.

These events had taken place soon after the Hansers' defeat by the Danes. When the former heard of the close alliance that their enemy had formed with Sweden and Norway they felt still greater anxiety for their safety and making great efforts to raise forces and excite enemies against the king before he could prepare another expedition similar to the one against Wisby, they soon had him beset by enemies on all sides. Valdemar did not see the greatness of his peril till it was too late, and when the counts of Holstein, eager to avenge the insult offered to their sister, induced several German princes to join them and the leaguers against the Danish king, he was forced, after a short but fierce war, to submit, and to secure terms of peace by giving up Skaania and the other old Danish provinces. These lands he had recovered, as we have seen, from Magnus Smek, and the Danes, who had rejoiced at their restoration to the Danish monarchy, were now equally mortified at their loss, while the council of state and the nobles made their king's misfortunes an excuse for refusing to aid in retrieving them. Valdemar, to defend himself, in 1368 withdrew from Denmark with his family to Germany, where he hoped to recruit aid from certain kinsmen.

For more than four years Denmark remained without a king, and her people, either from impotence or sheer indifference, allowed the Germans and Holsteiners to manage public affairs as they liked. So completely had the Hansers made themselves masters of the Danish kingdom that Valdemar had to buy peace and secure the right of resuming the regal power at terms dictated by these

traders. By the famous Treaty of Stralsund of 1370 it was stipulated that the traders of the German Hanse League should have equal voice with the Danish nobles, prelates, and burghers in the election of the future kings of Denmark. During the remaining three years of his life Valdemar had the good sense to refrain from all attempts to make war on his old enemies, and to devote himself to the good of his people. In spite, however, of all his efforts to benefit them, he never regained the esteem of his subjects, and in the songs and tales invented about him and repeated among the Danish peasants from one generation to the other, even till our own times, he is always spoken of as a hard, crafty prince, ready to barter his very soul for money, and willing to sell the lives and comfort of those nearest to him to gratify his own ambition. The superstitious country people long continued to give proof of the fear and hatred in which this stern but able king had been held in his own times. Among all their national tales "Valdemar the Bad" was made to play the part of Satan or one of his familiar spirits, and when in the winter night's storm they heard a sudden rush of wind and a howling of the tempest, they were wont to say that King Valdemar was driving his hounds with lash and spur through the air to the hunting grounds on Lake Esrom, which he was reported to have said would be dearer to him after death than heaven itself.

Valdemar was surnamed Atterdag, "Again a day," in allusion to his favorite maxim that men should bide their time, and hope that if one day brought trouble another day would come in which a lost chance might be recovered, a precept that certainly describes, if it did not determine, his own conduct. The death, in 1374, of Henry, Duke of Slesvig, the last direct descendant of King Abel, had given Valdemar the hope of bringing that much coveted province back to the crown; but before he could make formal claim of the duchy as a lapsed fief, he himself died suddenly at the age of sixty. With him ended the last direct male representative of the Valdemars, and thus the two main branches of the Svend Estridsen line of descent became extinct at the same time. Valdemar's only son had died some years earlier, leaving no family, and his nearest male heirs were, therefore, the sons of his daughters, Ingeborg and Margaret. The elder of these princesses had married Count Albert of Mecklenburg, and at her death had left a son, Albert. The younger of his daughters, Margaret,

had been given, as we have already seen, in marriage when quite a child to King Hakon of Norway, the son of Magnus of Sweden, and she, too, had a son, Olaf.

The council of state and the nobles were divided in their opinions in regard to the claims of the late king's grandsons. Most persons felt that Albert of Mecklenburg, as the son of the late king's eldest daughter, had the best right to the throne, but the Danes, who detested all Germans, were especially distrustful of the Mecklenburg family, because of the close alliance between those princes and Denmark's hereditary enemies, the counts of Holstein. For these reasons, and because the Danes had strong feelings of loyalty and affection toward the young Queen Margaret of Norway, they passed over the elder branch and gave the crown to her son, Olaf, who was proclaimed king in the same year, 1375. The little prince was only five years old at the time; his parents, therefore, Hakon and Margaret, took the oaths for him, and signed in his name the charter which the nobles had exacted of Christopher II. In 1380, with Hakon's death, Norway and Denmark were again united under a single ruler, in the person of Olaf, whose regent was his mother, Queen Margaret, a woman of great capability and infinite tact. This arrangement continued until Olaf's death at Falsterbo in 1387.

While Olaf's heart, embalmed in a silver shrine, was being conveyed across the Sound to Denmark, to be deposited in the abbey at Sorö, Albert the Elder of Sweden was already addressing an appeal to the Danish people for their support to his pretensions to the Danish throne, as the uncle of Albert the Younger, the grandson of Valdemar III. The Danes, however, had no ears for his arguments and demands, but ten days after Olaf's burial the Thing of Skaania made choice of "their dearly loved, high-born princess and lady Margaret, to be sole and independent ruler of Denmark." The Things of the islands and Jutland joyfully concurred in this choice, declaring that they took the unusual step of making a woman their ruler, not because she was the nearest heir of her father, Valdemar III., but because of her well-tried merit and to her they did homage as to 'their true king and master.' Margaret's election was, therefore, remarkable in two ways: for the initiative displayed by the provincial Things in the matter and because it resulted in placing a woman on the Danish throne.

In the following year the Norwegians followed the example

of the Danes, and at the diet which met in 1388 at Oslö Margaret was proclaimed Queen of Norway, while at her own behest her sister Ingeborg's son, Erik of Pomerania, whom she had already adopted, was chosen her successor. Although as long as she lived all power in both kingdoms rested in Margaret's hands, she professed to reign in Erik's name, during his childhood, and, when he was declared of age, caused him to take his place at her side on the throne, and tried in all ways to thrust him forward and make him appear the real sovereign. Her subjects seem, however, to have been well aware that it was to her alone that they owed the order which prevailed during her reign in Denmark and Norway. At the same time her fame soon spread far beyond the northern kingdoms. We are told by the writers of the great Chronicle of Lübeck that "when men saw the wisdom and strength that were in this royal lady, wonder and fear filled their hearts. She made peace with old foes, and kept good order over her people, gaining to her side both nobles and peasants. She went from castle to castle and received the homage and faithful service of the great; she journeyed from province to province and looked well into matters of law and right, until all obeyed and served her; justice was done in the land, and even the high-born sea-robbers, who so long had plagued the kingdom and defied the laws, were filled with terror, and were glad to come forward and give surety in money for their future good conduct." The writers of the same chronicle who bear this testimony to Margaret's talents for ruling add that "great marvel it is to think that a lady, who, when she began to govern for her son, found a troubled kingdom, in which she owned not money nor credit enough to secure a meal without the aid of friends, had made herself so feared and loved in the short term of three months that nothing in all the land was any longer withheld from her and her son."

While Denmark and Norway were thus enjoying greater security and quiet than either kingdom had known for many generations, Sweden continued in an unsettled state under Albert the Elder of Mecklenburg. Albert, although unable to govern the one kingdom that had so unexpectedly been handed over to him, was eager to secure Denmark as well. His pretensions we have already mentioned, also the fact that the Danes would not listen to them. An attempted invasion of the Danish kingdom brought him only loss and disgrace, wherefore he conceived the greatest hatred for the

VALDEMAR IV OF DENMARK SACKS THE SWEDISH TOWN OF WISBY, 1361 A.D.

Painting by C. G. Hellquist

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successful Margaret, whom he tried to bring into ridicule in every possible way. This conduct on his part aroused the royal lady's wrath and made her quite ready to give heed to those Swedish nobles who, soon after she became ruler of Denmark and Norway, had besought her to accept the crown of Sweden, and also to try to restore order in that kingdom as she had done in the other Scandinavian lands.

As soon as it was known that Margaret intended to take possession of Sweden, Albert raised an army of German mercenaries and prepared to take the field against her. The queen, in the meanwhile, had collected a large force of Danes, under the command of Ivar Lykke; Norwegians, under the knight, Henrik Parrow; and Swedes, under Erik Kettlesson. The hostile armies met at Leahy, a little hamlet between Falköping and Jonköping, on February 24, 1389. Here the greater number of Albert's German troops were cut down or drowned while they were trying to force their way over the morasses, which lay between them and the queen's forces. Albert himself and his son, together with many knights, were taken captive before they could effect their escape from the boggy ground which gave at every step under their heavily weighted horses, and were led directly into the presence of the queen, who had awaited the result of the battle within the castle of Bohus.

The rhyming chronicles of those times relate that King Albert had insulted the queen by sending her a long gown and an apron with a whetstone to sharpen her needles, and had spoken of her as the "unbreeched king" and "the monks' wife" in allusion to the favor which she showed the prelates. The story continues that when Albert fell into her power, she avenged herself for these insults by causing him to be dressed in a long gown, bib, and tucker, and by having a fool's cap put on his head with a tail dangling from it which was nineteen ells in length. Then, after getting her servants to keep him on the rack till he had promised to give orders that all the frontier castles should be surrendered to her, she had him and his son shut up in prison within the tower of Lindholm castle, where they were given seven years to repent of their rudeness.

Nearly all the castles of Sweden, which were held by the royal troops, opened their gates to Margaret without delay. Stockholm alone held out from year to year, until at last the queen agreed to release her prisoners on the payment of a ransom. This was, however, no manifestation of loyalty on the part of the Swedes, but

was due to the tenacious resistance of a band of Germans in the service of Albert. These men brought great misery upon the surrounding region by engaging the aid of a large number of their countrymen, known as the Vitalen or Victualing Brotherhood, because their chief duty was to keep the town and fortress of Stockholm well supplied with victuals. This pillaging commissariat cared very little how it performed its task or how heavily it taxed the poor country people to furnish what was needed.

King Albert and his son, in accordance with the treaty made with Queen Margaret on their behalf by the Hanse Leaguers and other German powers, were released in 1395 on payment of 60,000 marks of silver. The Hansers, who advanced this sum, took Stockholm as a security for three years, at the end of which time the city was to be given up to the queen if the debts were not yet discharged. It is said that the women of Mecklenburg sacrificed their gold and silver ornaments to enable the deposed king to repay the ransom, but Albert, with characteristic unscrupulousness, spent the money on his own pleasures and left Stockholm to fall into Margaret's hands. In the year 1396 she made a solemn entry into the Swedish capital, accompanied by Erik of Pomerania, who was presented to the people as their future king. Shortly afterward Erik was elected Margaret's successor at the Mora Stone and a year later was crowned in great state at Calmar by the Archbishop of Lund and Upsala, and proclaimed King of the three northern monarchies.

"And thus," says the chronicler who relates the circumstance, "was King Albert tortured in one night out of his two castles of Axewald and Rummelberg, and would by the like means have been robbed of a third, Orebro, if the governor, who was a German, had not defied Queen Margaret's power and kept himself and his men shut up in the fort."

The date of Erik's coronation was Margaret's birthday, July 20, 1397. One month previous Margaret had summoned an assembly of the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian nobles and clergy at Calmar in Smaaland, and from this assembly had issued the Calmar Act of Union, a famous document in Scandinavian history and one regarding the validity of which there has been much controversy; for, though signed by the queen and seventeen members of the councils of state of the several kingdoms, it was but imperfectly published to the Scandinavian people, on the occasion of Erik's coronation. It is, therefore, denounced by Swedish his-

torians as a usurpation surreptitiously foisted upon the people of their nation with only the merest color of legality. Says Geijer:[2] "Its real contents were so little known in Sweden that we find among the Swedish claims on Denmark, in 1435, a demand that Sweden should be correctly informed of the true purport of the Act of Union. Our old chroniclers are entirely ignorant of the first convention, and are acquainted only with the more recent

forms it assumed in consequence of the alterations and renewals which the conditions underwent." The Act of Union stipulated that the three kingdoms, between which peace and amity were thenceforth to prevail, should have one common monarch. Upon Erik's death, his son, or, if he had more than one, the same son, should succeed him in the three kingdoms. If he left only daughters, then the existing laws should determine the succession. If he left no offspring, then the members of the council of state of the three

[2] "History of the Swedes" (Turner's translation, 1845), vol. I., p. 62.

realms should meet together "and freely choose the person most worthy of the dignity." The act expressly reserved to each kingdom its laws, customs, and council of state. Other provisions of the act bound the three kingdoms to the alliances of each, deprived fugitive traitors from one kingdom of asylum in either of the others, and obligated all subjects of the Scandinavian monarch to take arms in the defense of any one of the three kingdoms.

The project thus outlined is attractive in form and idea, and quite in harmony with the natural fitness of things. Fortunate it would have been could Scandinavia have entered the modern era a single consolidated state. The scheme of Scandinavian unity was, however, beset with insuperable difficulties from the outset. The realm was too extensive, in those days of crude methods of transportation, to be readily traversed by the minions of a central authority. Such central authority, moreover, though temporarily realized in the vigorous personality of Margaret, was not permanently guaranteed in the face of the forces that feudal anarchy was able to recruit at any moment in any of the three kingdoms. Finally, the seeds of dissension were planted in the act itself, in the loose provisions regarding the succession. Nevertheless, the Union of Calmar endured for over a century and a quarter, and was, during that period, "a bulwark of security against foreign aggression," the end for which Margaret, having in mind particularly Germans and Hansers and foreign intruders upon the Baltic, designed it.

After Erik's coronation Margaret endeavored to withdraw more and more from the direction of affairs, with the idea of accustoming Scandinavia to look upon the young king as sovereign in fact as well as name. In truth, however, Erik's incapacity still kept her the power behind the throne. Yet Erik was not without a certain kind of ability, being most erudite and accomplished for his age. His fatal deficiency was in good sense. Like James I. of England, he was a "wise fool," abounding in obstinacy, conceit, and arrogance. He also showed himself most unappreciative of all that Margaret had done for him, and committed several acts of astounding ingratitude and callousness, the most glaring of which was his execution, shortly before the queen's death, of her old friend and counselor, Abraham Brodersen.

Brodersen's death was due to Erik's pique at his own lack of success in the war which he was now waging with Holstein. The

deceased Count Gerhard VI. of Holstein had also held Slesvig by Margaret's concession. Upon his death in 1402 his widowed Countess Elizabeth had been compelled at first to seek aid from Margaret against her husband's brother, Duke Henrik of Osnabrück. Subsequently, however, Elizabeth's apprehensions lest Margaret intended to keep the Slesvig strongholds permanently garrisoned induced her to make peace with her brother-in-law, and war upon the Danish forces in Slesvig. The war revealing Erik's military incapacity, Margaret, in the spring of 1412, left Sjaelland in her ship *Trinity,* and, sailing for the coast of Slesvig, invited the Countess Elizabeth to confer with her. The royal ladies agreed upon a settlement which was looked upon as promising peace. Three days afterward Margaret died.

"Death," says a Swedish writer, "made an end of Queen Margaret's life, but it could not make an end of her fame, which will endure through all ages. Under her hands the three kingdoms enjoyed a degree of strength and order, to which they had long been strangers before her time, and which neither of the three regained till long after her."

She was, indeed, a ruler of no ordinary caliber. While she kept the nobility in leash, she did it with such unerring tact as never to forfeit their affection. She secured the good-will of the clergy by her wise liberality to the church and her willingness to heed reasonable counsel. Even in combating the national jealousies of the three kingdoms, though her policy of bestowing offices of trust in Sweden upon Danes and *vice versa* may be open to question, yet her capability and essential good faith won the confidence of Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians alike.

Chapter XI

A CENTURY OF DANISH DOMINATION. 1413-1520

SMALL wonder that the withdrawal of Margaret's guiding hand was regarded with something like consternation by all Scandinavians, for by this time, despite Margaret's finesse, the limitations of the Pomeranian Erik had been quite completely revealed. The fate that dogged Erik's footsteps for over a quarter of a century—nearly the entire period of his reign, in fact—was the Holstein war. In 1413 he summoned the three sons of the late Count Gerhard to appear before him at Nyborg, not, however, to do homage for Slesvig in accordance with the agreement of Margaret and the Countess Elizabeth, but to answer to the charge of having taken arms against their feudal lord. Their fief in Slesvig was, therefore, pronounced lapsed, despite the protestation of loyalty of Gerhard, the eldest of the Holstein princes. Though in the struggle that ensued Erik had at his back the resources of the three kingdoms, all of which supported him loyally for years, and waged war with the ruthlessness of a pagan freebooter, he made little headway against his vassals, who were secretly subsidized by neighboring German princes and cities. In 1418 Erik lost Femern, but the next year recovering it he signalized his success by frightful devastations. Two years later the peasantry of the unfortunate island revenged themselves at Immervad, where the royal forces, numbering 100,000, were entirely routed. The proverb grew up: "At Immervad the Danes were driven to the devil," [1] and the men of Femern sang:

"When the cow in her stall
Will give us flax to spin,
Then the King in his hall
May hope our land to win!"

Erik now, in 1423, repaired to Buda to lay his side of the case before the Emperor Sigismund. Judgment was given in his favor and an order was issued by the imperial council to the Holstein

[1] P. C. Sinding: "History of Scandinavia," p. 160.

princes to resign the duchy of Slesvig within a limited time to the King of Denmark. But just as he seemed to have the whole situation well in hand, instead of returning to Denmark and enforcing the imperial verdict, Erik set out for the Holy Land with a meager following of forty men and horses. On reaching Venice the master of three realms found himself penniless and in order to continue to Jerusalem had to join a Venetian trader in guise of a serving man. The ill-starred enterprise ended with his being recognized and taken captive by some Greeks, who mulcted Erik's subjects of a good-sized ransom before they would give him up.

It does not appear that this was a particularly good investment. At any rate, during his absence, Erik's queen, Philippa, daughter of Henry IV. of England, had been ruling in his stead with more ability than he had ever displayed. Her principal achievement was to bring the Scandinavian coinage into temporary order and repute. Erik's return, however, resulted in recourse being promptly had to the good old policy of debasement. The Holstein trouble also again blazed forth. The Hansers, who were greatly vexed at the Sound tolls which Erik levied upon all vessels passing Copenhagen, were now open allies of the Holstein princes. In 1428 they attacked Bergen in Norway with a powerful fleet and having captured the town, sacked it. Copenhagen was now invested, but Queen Philippa's courageous presence, in Erik's absence in Sweden, saved the place. Afterward Philippa met with a reversal at sea, which so enraged Erik, now returned to Denmark, that he struck her, because of which insult she retired to a monastery. Fate avenged her, for Erik, meeting with reverse after reverse, in 1435 concluded the Peace of Vordingborg, by which Adolf of Holstein was to enjoy the duchy of Slesvig the remainder of his life and his successors for two years after his death.

The Peace of Vordingborg was necessitated by the situation in Sweden, which had risen in revolt, weighed down by taxes and burdens of all kinds, and badly treated by King Erik's numerous functionaries. The leader of the rebels was a Dalesman, Engelbrecht Engelbrechtsson, who kindled the revolt in Dalekarlia and Westmannland. His appeal was responded to by large numbers. The Swedes had good cause for hatred of King Erik, who had seldom troubled himself to come among them, seemingly caring for none of his dominions except the Danish Islands, where he spent his childhood and youth. Most hated of his officers was

the royal bailiff, Jossen Ericksson, or Jens Erichsen, as the Danes called him, who, among other cruel practices, if we are to credit the accusations brought against him, caused men to be hung up over blazing fires, and women to be harnessed to heavily laden wagons. Engelbrecht drew up a list of grievances setting forth these and the many other wrongs that the Swedish people had suffered during the reign of King Erik. He then proceeded with his followers to Stockholm where he laid the fateful document before the council of state, praying them that they would restore to the kingdom its ancient rights and depose Erik. When the bishops and nobles, who were members of the council, bade him bear in mind the oath which he, as well as they, had taken to honor and obey the king, Engelbrecht caught up one of the prelates by the neck and, holding him out of the window, threatened to throw him and all the others down into the armed crowd below unless they would, without further delay, accede to the wishes of the nation.

The council protested no further, but drawing up an act of deposition, pronounced Erik's Swedish subjects absolved from all allegiance to their faithless and negligent king.

For the moment Erik found security in the mutual distrust of the nobility and the peasantry. Thus, in 1435, at the Diet of Holmstadt the nobles solemnly renewed their homage to the king, at the same time stipulating that all dignitaries of the kingdom, at least the governors of the royal castles at Stockholm, Calmar, and Nyköping should be Swedes and in 1436 a second diet reaffirmed the Act of Union but with conditions also: The king was to pass four months of each year in each of his realms—showing the importance of this question of residence; no war or other common enterprise was to be undertaken without the consent of the councils of the three kingdoms. All this, however, was only a temporary eddy in the general current of events. Within three years Erik had lost not only his Swedish realm, but also those of Denmark and Norway.

The union of the people and the nobles which was necessary before the revolt against Erik could succeed, came about through the murder of Englebrecht Engelbrechtsson, the peasant leader, and the apostasy to the popular cause of Karl Knudsson Bondar, a Swedish noble and Erik's own appointee as marshal of Sweden. In the year 1439 the Swedish council of state again pronounced

the king's deposition, and the Danish council speedily followed suit. At this moment King Erik was on his way to Gothland, where he had intended to remain till his councils of state should submit to his wishes, and declare his young cousin, Bugislav of Pomerania, heir to the three kingdoms. When, however, he heard of the steps which his subjects had taken against him in his absence, he prepared to return to Denmark, threatening dire vengeance. But he was not allowed to land at a single port in his recent dominions. Funds failing him, he had recourse to piracy, but this turning out badly he at last retired to Pomerania, there to die in 1459 in poverty and neglect.

Even before Erik's deposition had been accomplished the Danish council of state had offered the regency to Christopher, son of Duke John of Bavaria and nephew of Erik himself by his only sister Catharine. The invitation to Christopher, though entirely the act of the nobility, was nevertheless at first a popular one, for the Bavarian prince had in earlier days often shown himself at the court of his uncle and had won universal good-will by the unconquerable cheerfulness of manner which was his chief temperamental characteristic. This was in 1438; the next year, the revolt against Erik having succeeded, Christopher was crowned at Viborg and there received the homage of the nobles and great clergy.

His coronation discovered in Christopher an innate appetite for crowns. Without pausing to settle the affairs of the kingdom he had just received, he turned immediately to scheme for the rest of the triple realm which he pretended to believe was his by the Union of Calmar. Yet there seemed initially little likelihood of his success. Norway was for the most part still loyal to Erik. Sweden favored the candidacy of Karl Knudsson, Erik's marshal and regent in that country. Upon neither Norway nor Sweden did the Union of Calmar, even had these kingdoms given it their binding assent, impose any obligation to accept the arbitrary choice of the Danish council of state. In 1440 the Swedish diet, convened at Arboga, solemnly decreed that the Union of Calmar should never be renewed and that no foreign king should ever again rule Sweden.

Christopher, however, remained sanguine, and decided to use diplomacy, a necessary promise coming easily to his constitutional good nature. The Swedish clergy were first won over by a plenitude of concession that wrote Christopher down "the bishop's

king" in the estimation of the bondar, and became valiant spokesmen in the cause they had just come from enlisting themselves against. Knudsson was pacified by the duchy of Finland as an hereditary fief, the Island of Oeland for a term of years; a large sum of money, by way of indemnity for his expenditures as regent of Sweden; and a written promise from Christopher that he should never be called to account for such expenditures, nor for any of his acts as regent. Christopher was chosen King of Sweden in 1440, and two years later King of Norway. His young queen, Dorothea of Brandenburg, was crowned Queen of Sweden in 1446. It was on this occasion that Christopher signalized his alliance with the clergy by presiding over the first heresy trial that Sweden had ever witnessed, the victim of which, a half-witted peasant, was made to do public penance for his unconsidered opinions.

Christopher's three crowns brought him the due proportion of uneasiness. In Denmark a revolt had broken out among the Jutish peasantry, in favor of Erik, but really provoked by the unusual exactions of the new monarch. It speedily became the most formidable and terrible agrarian uprising that Denmark had yet experienced. At one time the peasant forces numbered 35,000 and were capably led by a renegade nobleman, Henrik Tagesöns. The royal forces were defeated in a battle; Aeske Brock, the king's general, and twelve noblemen were captured and put to death. A *jacquerie* now developed: everywhere the landlords were harried and slain, their houses burned, their lands appropriated. The threatened upheaval was finally averted by the defeat of the rebels at Aagard. The peasantry had to pay the hated tithes, to accord compensation to injured landholders, and to submit to even greater exactions than those that had provoked the revolt.

In Sweden at this same period was a severe famine, and consequently much indignation at the lavish waste of the court, which spent much of its time at Stockholm, and at the overfeeding of the horses in the royal stables. Christopher was dubbed the "bark-bread" and the "famine" king; and a rumor spread among the superstitious that a certain man, whose piety entitled to credence any prophecies he chose to venture, had foretold that Knudsson would be crowned king at Upsala; and that a child had seen the crown sparkling on the Swedish Macbeth's brow. "The marshal ought to be our king," declared the Stockholmers, who remembered the handsome form of the ex-regent. "Our crown would better

suit him than that stumpy little German!" "The Swedes," commented the good-natured Christopher, "are a free-spoken people." Good nature had, however, its limit, especially in a ruler charged with the fundamental duty of protecting his subjects from outrage. But of this fact Christopher had not the least appreciation. On one occasion a body of Swedish nobles came to the Danish court at Viborg to complain that the coasts of Sweden were being laid waste by pirates, who were believed to be in the pay of the late king and to demand that they should be pursued and punished without mercy. "Well!" answered the king, "it certainly is a pity that my uncle cannot find a more honest way of getting his living, but after robbing him of his three kingdoms, I do not think we ought to be very hard upon him if he snatches a dinner now and then without paying for it. A man cannot live on nothing, you know!"

The source of Christopher's sympathy with Erik was not improbably his own impecuniousness. Already he had disposed of most of the crown lands in Sweden, sometimes to two or more bidders, who were left to settle between themselves the question of ownership. At the time of his visit to Stockholm in 1446 he was easily prevailed upon by Knudsson's enemies to violate his pledges to the nobleman who was now in Finland, and to mulct him heavily on various pretexts. From this shabbiness the king descended next year to sheer knavery. Taking a leaf out of Erik's book, he dispatched ships to waylay Dutch and English trading vessels as they passed through the Sound. A plan which he put in execution in 1448 was equally villainous, but less contemptible. On pretense of wishing to go on a pilgrimage to the church of Wilsnak in Brandenburg, he demanded a free passage for himself and retinue through the Hanse towns. His real object, however, was to attack and plunder the rich trading port of Lübeck, whither a number of German barons who were in league with him had assembled as if by chance, bringing with them arms concealed in empty wine casks. The breaking out of a fire in the night, which was mistaken by the Danes and their fellow-conspirators for the signal of attack, saved the city. For the citizens, on discovering the treachery of their guests, sounded the alarm bells and, assembling in large numbers, drove the strangers out and forced Christopher to leave the harbor with all his ships and men. On reaching Helsingborg the king found himself too ill to proceed further, and after a few days' suffering died from the bursting of a malignant

tumor, which was attributed, according to the wont of those times, to poisoning.

Christopher died without issue, leaving the councils of state again confronted with the task of discovering some prince of the royal blood to whom they might offer the three crowns. The Danish council taking the initiative as usual, at once fixed upon Adolf, Duke of Holstein, hoping that by this choice they might again unite Slesvig with Denmark. But Duke Adolf, who had no children and loved his ease, refused the crown offered him, venturing, however, at the same time, to nominate his nephew, Count Christian of Oldenburg, who, like himself, could trace his descent from the old royal Danish house through Rikissa, daughter of Erik Glipping. This nomination the Danish council at once accepted, and the young Oldenburg prince in turn accepted the council's offer. Moreover, Christian, upon his arrival in Denmark, made himself so highly agreeable to the young dowager, Dorothea, that she consented to their union, as soon as her term of mourning should be done with. This was a highly satisfactory arrangement to the council of state, as it had already begun to cudgel its brains over the question of refunding Dorothea's dowry, which, of course, had long since been squandered by the thriftless Christopher.

In the meantime, Karl Knudsson had learned of his faithless sovereign's death and was returning to Sweden. In 1449 he entered Stockholm with a great array of troops and after a few months of riot and uproar was proclaimed king at the Mora Stone amid a great tumult of popular approval. Soon afterward he was crowned with his wife at Upsala. The Norwegians also evinced a strong desire to take Karl for their king and sent messengers to Christian of Oldenburg to announce that they were resolved never again to submit to be ruled by a Danish monarch. Christian promptly took up the challenge, with the result that Norway, upon Karl's coronation at Drontheim, became, for the time, the battleground of the rival monarchs. The story of the war is a somber tale of the lootings of mercenaries and the ignoble treason of leaders. As early as 1450 the Norwegian council of state transferred its allegiance to Christian. The Act of Union was renewed and Christian was crowned at Drontheim.

Christian was now able to bring new resources to bear against Sweden, where also discontent with Karl Knudsson was slowly

accumulating. Karl invariably chose his officials from the lower orders, which, of course, gave rise to much bitter complaining on the part of the nobility. He alienated the clergy by securing the enactment of a statute invalidating deathbed gifts to the church. At last, in 1457, the archbishop, Jöns Bengtsson, having with solemn state deposited his miter, staff, and pallium upon the high altar of the cathedral of Upsala, put on his armor, took sword in hand, and, advancing to the church door, he posted thereon a declaration of war against the king. Karl made only a faint attempt to resist the rebels, and finding, as the old chronicle of Olaus Petri says, that "his primate was in right good earnest and had no idea of playing at war," embarked in haste and secrecy by night with as much gold and silver as he could carry away with him, and betook himself to Dantzig, where he remained for seven years.

The Swedish nobles whom Karl had driven into exile now returned. Stockholm, always the last bulwark of the royal power, surrendered within a month to the primate, though in Albert's time it had withstood a siege of seven years. Bengtsson now assumed the title of "Prince and Administrator of the Realm." Not for long, however, for on June 19, 1457, Christian was crowned at Upsala, "and at a congress of the councils of all three kingdoms held next year in Skara he obtained their conjoint guarantee for the succession of his son."[2]

At first the peasants, against whose wishes Christian had been made king, nevertheless acquiesced in the arrangement which had been effected. As the chronicle runs, "it first went well with the land under King Christian." But presently the face of affairs altered. "The king began to lay new taxes upon the country, and all who had any money were obliged to lend him large sums of which they received nothing back. . . . [Thus] he drew on himself much ill-will throughout the kingdom, and his unfriends began to call him a bottomless pouch and said that he was a public spoiler, although he was otherwise a pious and good-natured man."

In the year 1463 a report was spread abroad that Karl was about to return from his exile. Immediately the bondar began rising in great numbers all over the country and threatened to renounce their allegiance to Christian unless their burdens were removed. In order to restore quiet, the primate agreed to these demands, which, however, so enraged Christian that he ordered Bengtsson's arrest and caused the words "the archbishop is a

[2] E. G. Geijer: "History of Sweden," vol. I. p. 69.

traitor" to be written in large letters upon all the public buildings and churches of Stockholm. The peasants, on the other hand, looking upon the primate as a martyr in their cause, immediately took up arms and advanced toward the capital for his rescue. They were soon routed by the Marshal Thure Thuresson, who gained for himself the name of "the Peasants' Butcher," on account of his great severity. Of Thuresson it was said that he had spared neither air, water, nor land in his thirst for gold, as he had pulled the gilt weather-cock from the highest tower in Stockholm, broken down walls, and drained lakes in search of treasure. The peasants still kept up the struggle. In the winter of 1464 Christian himself appeared at the head of an army. But the peasants of Dalekarlia still defied him. Leading him by false information to advance into a thick wood in Westmannland, they gave him battle, defeated him, and forced him to return to Denmark without having gained a single foothold in Sweden. The shibboleth of the rebels now became: "Sweden is a kingdom, not a farm or parish to be ruled over by bailiffs, and we will have no Danish overseers to plague us, but a true-born Swede for our king." The council of state had finally to yield to the popular clamor and in 1467 recalled the exiled Karl, who retained his throne, this time till his death, three years later. With his dying breath he commended the government of the kingdom to his nephew, Sten Sture, at the same time earnestly praying him never to attempt to gain the throne for himself. After some hesitation on the part of the council of state, Sten Sture was formally proclaimed regent and marshal of Sweden in the spring of 1471. Six months later King Christian I. of Denmark landed near Stockholm with a large army of German mercenaries who boasted of the shame which they would bring upon men and maidens throughout the land, while Christian in his contempt for Sten Sture called him a 'conceited puppy, who needed a sound thrashing to make him know his right place.' But the result of the day's fight at Brunkebjerg, when Sten Sture's wife and other noble ladies looked down from the castle walls on the combatants below, was very different from what the invaders had expected. Their complete defeat freed Sweden for some years from further attacks on the part of the Danes, Christian himself never again setting foot on Swedish soil.

The chronicle which was quoted with reference to the cause of Sweden's revolt against Christian further recites that he used

the proceeds of his odious levies to buy "the land of Holstein from the Count of Schaumburg and his brother Count Gerdt." In 1459 the Count-Duke Adolf of Slesvig-Holstein dying, his numerous kinsmen at once began to dispute among themselves as to the manner in which his heritage should be disposed of. King Christian sent troops into Slesvig, and claimed the right of resuming control of the duchy on the ground that as Count Adolf had died without leaving any direct heirs in the male line, the fief had lapsed. These claims, the validity of which Sigismund had conceded a quarter of a century before, were not disputed, and Christian had thus the good fortune to recover without bloodshed a province whose possession had for centuries been a subject of dispute between the kings of Denmark and the dukes who had held it. Not satisfied, however, with what he had thus easily obtained, Christian desired also to make himself master of Holstein, which province was held at the present moment by its nobility and knighthood, directly from the empire. Evidently, therefore, Christian could not hope to secure it unless he could induce these vassals to propose his investiture to the emperor. Of course, the individuals whose favor was thus solicited were sure to make the most of their opportunity, both in a pecuniary way and to make themselves almost independent of their future ruler. The terms to which Christian finally agreed were that in return for the title of count of Holstein the nobles and knights of the province and their heirs after them should be exempt from taxation by the Danish crown, and should not be called upon to give to the kings of Denmark any aids in money or men except of their own entire free will. Christian also promised for himself and all his successors that the provinces of Holstein and Slesvig should remain forever united, and that on his death the electors should be free to choose a successor from among any one of his heirs, and were not to be bound to take the next king of Denmark to be count-duke of the united provinces.

The Danes were indignant when they heard the terms on which the king had gained the empty title of ruler of Holstein, and their vexation was not lessened on finding that they were to be made answerable for his rash promise to pay off in money all other claims on his uncle's heritage. Among other claimants were the Count Otto of Schaumburg, the Count Gerdt, already mentioned, and also the king's three brothers, who each required 40,000

florins, together with the one-third of the Oldenburg and Delmenhorst patrimony of their family. The Danes, more loyal than the Swedes, after much grumbling and delay paid their portion of the required sums of money to their king. But he, as usual, spent them on his own pleasures and left the poor Jutlanders to be pillaged by Count Otto's troops, and to buy off future attacks by heavy fines.

Christian, in fact, like his predecessor, was invariably in need of money, wherefore, the causes were many: an extravagant and pleasure-loving court, profitless progresses to the imperial court, senseless journeys to Rome to solicit the aid of Pope or emperor, a vain emulation of the ambitious courses of monarchs to the south, who in this age were employed in consolidating and extending their realms. Christian failed to recognize that the natural resources of his realm, much less the fiscal constitution of his government, forbade imitation of France. In consequence, he was inveterately impecunious, a "Stringless Purse," as the Danes called him, and was continually compelled not only to extraordinary levies that impoverished his people and to forced loans that discouraged thrift, but also to many transactions quite incompatible with the dignity of the kind of monarch he, in his empty-headed vanity, thought himself. Thus he kept back all but 2000 florins of the 60,000 florins which he had collected for the dowry of his daughter Margaret when she married James III. of Scotland in 1469. When the councilors of the young Scottish king demanded the remainder, Christian handed over the Orkney and Shetland Isles to be held in pawn—and there they are to this day. Likewise, the funds which the Danish clergy voted, in 1474, for the foundation of the University of Copenhagen, went astray. Not till 1479 was the university opened and even then was so poorly endowed as to remain greatly circumscribed in its activities till the Reformation. "Silver," as his subjects declared, "slipped through Christian's fingers like grain through a sieve." His neighbors were also aware of this and speedily found that there was almost no concession of substance which the Danish monarch would not grant to those who could furnish him the wherewithal for vain glory. Most serious of such concessions was that to the Hanse League, whereby the traders of that league were given a monopoly of the Baltic trade and were empowered to exclude Danish vessels from Danish ports. What folly!

In 1481 Christian I., first of the Oldenburg line, which still

holds the Danish throne, died and was succeeded by his eldest son Hans, both as king of Denmark and count-duke of Slesvig-Holstein, though not until Hans had assented to some very hard terms both in the kingdom and in the united provinces. Among the common people, however, Hans was a great favorite, preferring the customs of the country of his father's adoption and speaking its language like a native Dane. These characteristics apparently recommended him also to the Norwegians, who having no eligible native prince, made Hans their ruler soon after his accession to the Danish throne.

Although Hans loved peace, the disturbed condition of his dominions when he came to the throne, and the ambition of his brother, drew him into many wars during his long reign. The queen-mother had always shown great partiality for her younger son, Prince Frederick, who was a German through and through, and, not satisfied with securing for him, on the death of Christian, a promise from the nobles and prelates of Slesvig and Holstein that he should be proclaimed joint ruler over the duchies with his brother Hans, she obtained for him also the right of choosing which part of Slesvig he would hold as his own. The duchy had been divided in the year 1480 into two parts, the Segeberg and the Gottorp lands, but after choosing the latter Frederick had grown dissatisfied with his choice and been allowed by his brother to change it for the Segeberg portion of Slesvig. This indulgence only made him bolder in asking greater favors and at last he demanded, as a right, that he should be allowed to rule over the islands of Laaland, Falster, and Moen and be crowned joint king over Norway. These demands were, however, too extravagant even for the indulgent Hans, who, refusing to listen to his brother's request, called together a diet at Kallundborg, and with the full assent of the members formally rejected Frederick's pretensions, and threatened him, in case he should ever renew them, with the forfeiture of the lands which he held in Slesvig.

Prince Frederick was forced after this to be more circumspect in his conduct, but his restless, dominant nature made him still the guiding mind of his brother's reign. Thus it was chiefly by his persuasions, but against the advice of the queen-mother, that the king resolved to gain the Swedish throne by force. He had for many years contented himself with the promises of the Swedish regent and his council of state that they would offer him

the throne whenever they saw that the moment had arrived for proclaiming his authority in the kingdom. Fourteen years passed without bringing King Hans the crown he coveted. At last, losing patience, at the instigation of Duke Frederick, he led a large army of German mercenaries into Sweden. He easily defeated Regent-Marshal Sten Sture, who had alienated the Swedish nobility and could rely only upon the peasantry of Dalekarlia. In 1497 the Swedish council of state proclaimed Hans king, both at Stockholm and Upsala. Into the former place he made his triumphal entry at the side of Sture himself. A conversation that took place between the deposed marshal and the new monarch on this occasion well reveals where the support of each, the patriot leader and the alien conqueror, lay. The king asked Sture jocosely, "If, like a faithful steward, he had prepared all things for his master's coming." Sture answered, pointing his finger at the Swedish nobles gathered round them, "They can answer that best, for they have done all the baking and brewing here to their own liking!" King Hans was greatly affronted by Sture's words and answered angrily, "And you, Sten Sture, have in the meanwhile left me an evil heritage in Sweden, for the peasants, whom God made to be our slaves, you have raised into masters, and those who ought to be lords, you have tried to enslave." On the other hand, we should bear in mind that Hans's control of his own realm of Denmark depended upon his popularity with the peasantry.

To this statement there is one exception. The inhabitants of the Ditmarshes, which adjoined the Holstein lands, were not pure Germans, but belonged to those Frisian tribes occupying the northwestern parts of Germany and Holland and the islands near the Slesvig-Holstein coasts, who were descended from the ancient Frisii, known to the Romans for their bravery and love of freedom. The same independent spirit had always animated these people, and they had age after age made many a gallant stand against the neighboring princes who had attempted to subdue them. Thus, although the Emperor Frederick had formally given over their lands to Christian I. of Denmark to be joined with the Holstein territory, the Marshmen had refused to own themselves subject to the power of Denmark. And when Prince Frederick, as Duke of Slesvig-Holstein, called upon the Ditmarshers to pay taxes to him and to do homage for their lands they simply disregarded his summons.

In the winter of 1500 Frederick induced his brother, the king, to invade the marshes. The royal army, which was commanded by the king and the Duke of Slesvig-Holstein, was composed of an unusually large proportion of nobles and knights, who showed their contempt for their peasant foes by going into the attack clad in their ordinary hunting costumes and carrying only light arms. Meldorf, the chief town of the marshes, was taken and sacked and the inhabitants killed with great cruelty. The invading army then started for Heide on the afternoon of a cold winter's day, when they found their advance checked by a line of earthworks thrown up against a dyke near Hemmingstedt and defended by 500 Ditmarshers under their leader Wolf Isebrand. The royal German guard rushed to the attack, shouting, "Back, churls, the guards are coming!" and three times forced the Marshmen to retreat, but they as often rallied. At that moment the wind changed, bringing a thaw with it, and as the troops were struggling on, blinded with the sleet and snow and benumbed with cold, the sluices were suddenly opened by the peasants, when the water, driven on by the rising tide, soon covered the marshes and swept everything before it. Then the Ditmarshers, who were accustomed to make their way quickly through the marshes by the aid of their poles and stilts, threw themselves upon the invaders and cut them down or transfixed them with their long spears. Six thousand men perished in this way, the king and Duke Frederick themselves only narrowly escaping, and an immense booty to the value of 200,000 gulden fell into the hands of the victors, also seven banners, one of them the Danish national standard Dannebrog, which was carried in triumph to Oldenwörden and hung up in the church as the supreme trophy of the victory.

Hans's disaster in the marshes lost him Sweden and threatened his control of Norway. This time Sten Sture had the support of the Swedish nobles. Moreover, a general detestation of Danish rule existed in all parts of Sweden and among all classes. The sudden death of the Marshal Sten Sture, in 1503, was ascribed to poison, administered, it was alleged, by the order of Prince Frederick, and this occurrence greatly aggravated the bitterness of the Swedish attitude. When Hemming Gade, Bishop of Linköping, addressed the people at Upsala after Sten Sture's death, he concluded his speech with these words: "The Danes are a nation of murderers and thieves and have been so from all time, but let us

not despair, for the Almighty, who has saved seven parishes in the Ditmarshes from their hands, will not fail to rescue a whole kingdom!" Hans appealed to both emperor and Pope to punish the rebels, but being unable to back up their anathemas and fulminations with physical force of his own, he was soon compelled to resign his Swedish crown, which he never attempted to regain.

At the death of Sten Sture, in 1503, his adopted heir, Svante Sture, was in accordance with his father's wishes made marshal and regent of Sweden. This knight was of a daring, frank nature, and it was said of him that he would take no man into his service who winked at the stroke of a battleax, and that he would rather strip his coat off his back than leave a friend and brother-warrior unrewarded. He cared more for his soldiers than for any other class of the nation, and as long as he governed Sweden there was nothing but war. He and Hemming Gade, who may be said to have ruled the land between them, seemed only to think how they might display their hatred toward Denmark, and although during this time there were constant meetings between the nobles of the two countries to settle their differences, neither people had any rest from the hostile and piratical attacks of the other. The Hanse traders sided sometimes with the one and sometimes with the other party. Thus, in 1512, the Lübeckers, aggrieved at some concessions by Hans to English merchants, allied themselves with the Swedes and fell upon the Danish fleet without warning. The Danish admirals, Sören Norby and Otte Rud, however, gave their assailants such a thorough drubbing, that they were glad to get off by consenting to pay an indemnity of 30,000 gulden.

That same year Svante of Sweden died and was succeeded by Sten Sture, "the Younger." The following year Hans died, bringing his son Christian II. to the Danish throne. Sten was the noblest and best of the Sture race, and his efforts to relieve the people as far as he could from the taxes which weighed so heavily upon them, and his gallant attempts to secure the freedom of the country, endeared him very greatly to the Swedes. In 1518 he defeated the army which Christian II. had brought before the walls of Stockholm. After the battle Christian sought an interview with the regent, and demanded that several Swedish hostages should be sent on board a Danish ship of war to remain there until he had returned in safety from the meeting. The regent agreed to this, and made choice by their own consent of the bishop, Hemming

Gade, and five other persons of noble birth, one of whom was young Gustaf Eriksson Vasa, who had served in the recent war and borne the royal standard of Sweden in the battle of Stockholm. While the conference between the king and regent was going on, the Danish ship, at the king's orders, weighed anchor and sailed to Denmark, where the hostages were kept in prison on pretense that they were rebels. At the same time, Christian, returning to Copenhagen, induced the Pope to issue a bull laying Sweden under interdict and excommunicating Sten Sture and all who sided with him. A Danish army under the command of Otte Krumpe was sent into Sweden with orders to affix to all church doors through the land copies of these papal decrees. The Danes were defeated with great loss on the Aase Sound, but Sten Sture's death, in 1520, placed the kingdom completely at the mercy of the Danish monarch.

At the close of the Middle Ages Denmark comprised Jutland, the islands lying between Sweden and Denmark, Halland, Bleking, and Skaania on the Swedish coast, the greater part of Slesvig-Holstein, though the latter of these duchies was held personally by the Danish sovereign in fief from the empire, and Norway. The population of this realm was about 1,500,000. The great majority of these folk were Danish. Holstein, however, was entirely German, and in the interval between the transfer of Slesvig to the counts of Holstein and Christian I.'s resumption of the overlordship of both duchies—1386-1460—the process of Germanizing Slesvig had gone on with rapidity, and, indeed, did not cease at the latter date.

German influence was not confined, however, to Slesvig-Holstein. It was rampant throughout Denmark itself in the fifteenth century. In Erik of Pomerania, Christopher of Bavaria, and Christian of Oldenburg, Denmark had three German monarchs, the latter of whom was unable to speak the Danish tongue and ostentatiously flouted Danish customs. The unpatriotic example of the monarch was eagerly followed by a nobility anxious to emphasize its superiority to the general population. The Danish court was crowded with German courtiers or courtiers who had received their education in Germany. It was the German mercenary rather than the Danish trooper who made Danish rule seem alien and odious to the Swedes. Danish public institutions were both consciously and unconsciously modeled after those

of Germany, whence came not only the forms, but even the nomenclature of Danish feudalism and serfdom.

In the hands of foreign princes the decline of the royal power continued. Hans's concessions to the nobility in 1481 made the council of state the sovereign authority of the state. The aggrandizements of the clergy also continued. The church in 1500 held probably one-half the wealth of the realm, all of which vast holdings were entirely exempt from any service to the king. The domination of both clergy and nobility over the peasantry was most oppressive. All these dreary features had, however, their element of hope and their promise of betterment. The weakness of the monarch before the great orders of clergy and nobility made him look to the peasantry for support; the nobility's affectation of German speech and German habit furnished the political movement with a patriotic motive; the corruption of the clergy offered the new forces a definite enterprise, at once remunerative, on account of the great wealth of the church, and patriotic. Upon the basis of the Reformation both the national church and the national monarchy of Denmark were to be established.

Yet, notwithstanding that the future held in store much of good for Denmark, the age of her predominance in Scandinavia was at an end, with the opening of the sixteenth century, and the mantle of her leadership in the north about to descend upon Sweden.

Sweden at the close of the Middle Ages comprised Gothland; Svealand, bounded on the west by the western limits of Dalekarlia; Helsingeland; an indefinite region in Lapland, into which Swedish colonies were regularly proceeding; as also they were into Finland, Swedish sway over which stopped at the western boundaries of Kyrialeland; Esthonia, conquered in the time of Boijer Jarl, had been lost in 1346; Halland, Skaania, and Bleking were still Danish. Scattered over this vast area, in 1500, there were probably fewer than one-half million people, but the population was rapidly increasing in certain regions, particularly in Dalekarlia, whose mines were just being opened up. Towns were few and unimportant. "In the interior of the country, where they sprang up on the sites of ancient fairs; or at episcopal seats, many of the conditions required for their prosperity were wanting. Wisby, in Gothland, was for a long time rich and powerful, but might rather have been called a German than a Swedish town, and in all

German burghers were so numerous that down to 1470 one-half of the town magistrates were taken from among them."[3] This was due, of course, to the proximity of the main seat of the Hanse League, to which, as we have already seen, certain Swedish monarchs like their Danish contemporaries made many spendthrift concessions. The promise of Sweden's position with reference to the Baltic trade was, however, one of the first facts to obtrude itself upon the minds of her patriotic rulers of the sixteenth century. With the extension of their realm over the Sound lands and the development of Swedish resources under their almost personal supervision, Sweden was destined to develop a commerce that long supported the great rôle she essayed on the Continent.

But the most important reason for Sweden's relatively sudden elevation into European prominence in the sixteenth century, apart from the opportunity created by the Lutheran Reformation, is to be found in the superior political situation of the Swedish people at the opening of that century. At the beginning of the era of the Folkungar, the Swedish nobility was in rapid process of transition from its ancient character of an order of local magnates to that of a feudal nobility: the old nobility of birth, based on real or fictional kindred with the king, is superseded in the legisation of Magnus Ladulaas by a nobility of service to the king. Of course, even the ancient nobility had to a degree been a nobility of service, and its members had, in time of war, comprised a brotherhood of arms with the king; but the importance thus achieved was prevented from becoming the basis of an authority that might threaten popular rights by the popular elective judiciary—which thus takes on a tribunicial character. The new nobility of the Folkungar, on the other hand, inevitably took its constitution from the feudal age in which it arose. Its members are vassals to the king; their services are largely military; their reward is a territorial fief, to whose inhabitants the vassal stands, not merely in the relation of landlord, but also of judge and royal representative. What was to prevent the peasantry of Sweden from going the way that the Danish peasantry had gone a century earlier; from passing from loss of political power to loss of all freedom of property and person, and sinking into absolute serfdom?

Yet this did not come about. "No one can deny," says Geijer, "that the people of Sweden best withstood that trial in which Norway lost its political independence and Denmark the

[3] Geijer: "History of Sweden," vol. I. p. 88.

freedom of its people." It is true that the Swedish monarchy of the fourteenth century was preëminently a feudal monarchy; that it was characterized by the ascendency of a military and clerical oligarchy, which, where the law opposed its aggrandizements, often trampled under foot the behests of the law, and which, as for instance at Skara in 1332, confederated itself for the exclusion of the people from their customary participation in the affairs of the realm. Also, it is true that the Calmar Recess of 1483, which says "that every good man, clerical or laic, shall be king over his own dependents, except in matters which by law are committed to the sovereign," presents, to all appearance, the picture of a completely feudalized state. Nevertheless, the two great events of Swedish history at the close of the fifteenth century, *viz.*, the revolts against Danish power, headed by Engelbrecht Engelbrechtsson and by the Stures, were essentially popular movements.

It should be noted in what sort of enterprise Engelbrecht and the Stures were engaged. They were resisting an alien domination, foisted upon Sweden by the Union of Calmar. Yet because it was an alien domination, which meant absentee rule, the Swedish nobility preferred it to that of a Swedish monarch. Consequently we find Engelbrecht and the Stures doing their utmost to effect a restoration of popular forces in the realm. The people of Sweden, its yeomanry, had never lost their voice in the election of a king. In all the writs issued for elective diets during the union are memtioned, "bishops, clerks, nobles, franklins (frälse), burghers, and the common yeomanry." With the revival of the ancient associations of yeomanry by Engelbrecht and the Stures, this right of representation was once more rendered effective; not merely for the purpose of choosing a ruler, however, but for all the purposes of a diet of estates, which now indeed arose.

In the work that they did in reanimating and reorganizing the popular forces of the Swedish constitution, Engelbrecht and the Stures paved the way for Gustavus Vasa, the real founder of the new Swedish monarchy, which gave Sweden its "Glorious Epoch."

PART III

THE PERIOD OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY
1520-1771

Chapter XII

GUSTAVUS VASA AND THE SWEDISH REVOLUTION
1520-1560

CHRISTIAN II. of Denmark, the only son of King Hans and his queen, Christina of Saxony, was born at Nyborg in 1481. As a prince he received a remarkable upbringing, considering the fact that he had been early crowned joint king with, and successor to, his father, and was looked upon by most Danes as the rightful heir to the thrones of Norway and Sweden as well as to that of Denmark.

The king and queen, who were often absent on long journeys to the different provinces of their kingdoms, in order to provide for their small son during these frequent absences from the Danish capital, removed him from the court and the care of their own attendants, and placed him in the house of a tradesman of Copenhagen, named Hans Metzenheim Bogbinder, who, however, was a man of standing in the city, a burgomaster and councilor of state. Subsequently the king placed Christian in the hands of the Canon George Hinze, who, finding that he could not trust his vivacious ward out of his sight, kept him invariably with him, even when engaged in religious devotions. As Christian had a good ear for music, and a fine voice, the heir to the three kingdoms was soon singing in every choir in Copenhagen, much to the scandal of his royal parent when he learned of it. The king next applied to his kinsman, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, to send to Denmark a tutor, at once learned and stern in the management of unruly youngsters. The erudite Master Conrad, whom Joachim presently dispatched to Denmark, fully answered these requirements, and from him Christian is declared to have acquired a fluency in Latin equal to that of any university professor of the times. But his love of fun remained irrepressible, and there is a story to the effect that when the king, who was a firm believer in Solomon's precept about the rod, found that his son was in the habit of bribing the palace watch to let him pass freely in and out, to join

in the amusements of the citizens, he used a horsewhip so sharply on Christian's back and shoulders as to force him to his knees and to a promise of amendment.

In 1501 Hans sent Prince Christian into Norway as independent governor, or viceroy, of that kingdom, there to fulfill his apprenticeship in the art of government.

It was in Norway that Christian first displayed the resolution of which he was capable, but which, unfortunately, was often tinged with cruelty. For although he was only twenty years old at the time, he put down every attempt at rebellion with such dispatch and sternness that in a short time almost every Norwegian noble or knight of eminence had been either killed or banished. He seems, in fact, from his boyhood to have had a hatred of the nobility generally, which he may have imbibed from his burgher guardian, to have avoided their society, and to have chosen his friends, as later he did his officers, from among the lower classes.

He was still further estranged from the higher orders by the hard terms which the council of state imposed upon him as the price of his succession in 1513. He had to surrender his judicial power entirely into the hands of the nobility, to resign his right to confer nobility, and to make other concessions, the total effect of which was to leave him practically no prerogative. Christian affixed his name to the so-called charter without murmur, because he knew that thus only could he secure the crown, and also because he was determined to treat the whole thing as a dead letter, as soon as the course of events would permit.

Christian, however, decided to make the crown of Sweden the first object of his ambition. His cause was supported by Gustaf Trolle, the primate of Upsala, and many others belonging to the ancient Swedish nobility, who, in their jealousy of the power enjoyed by the Sture family, were desirous, as of yore, of an alien and absentee sovereign. But the greater number of Swedes were devoted to Sten Sture the younger, and from the moment of King Hans's death showed very clearly that they would never submit willingly to the renewal of Danish rule. During the war which soon broke out between Sture and the archbishop's party, Christian sent his armies year after year into the country, but gained no foothold there till 1520. That year, as we have seen, his general, Otte Krumpe, marching along the frozen streams and lakes, gave the Swedes battle on the ice at Aasund, in West Gothland. The

Swedish army, taken unawares, was defeated and later dispersed, when it became known that Sten Sture was dead. Sture's widow, however, closed the gates of Stockholm against the Danes until treachery on the part of the townspeople forced her to submit, when by the help of the Swedish bishops Christian was able to make himself master of the throne he had been so eager to obtain.

In the autumn of 1520 Christian was crowned at Stockholm with great pomp. All the Swedes who took part in the festivities held in honor of the coronation were charmed by the seeming graciousness and affability of the new king. At the very moment, however, when the Swedish nobles were congratulating themselves, the king's chief officers of state, the Westphalian, Didrik Slaghoek, and Jens Beldenak, bishop of Odense, stepped forward before Christian, seated in the midst of his court, and in the name of the primate, Gustaf Trolle, demanded reparation for the wrongs which it was pretended the archbishop had suffered at the hands of Sten Sture the younger, and his councilors. Christian, on pretense of upholding the dignity of the church, required to know the names of all who had signed the act of deposition, which, as he well knew, had been passed in consequence of the primate's treason of former years. The document was produced, and all whose names were attached to it were arrested on the spot, although it was shown that they had acted merely in conformity with the orders of the national diet. The next morning the prisoners were brought before a court, composed of twelve ecclesiastics, who were all Swedes excepting Beldenak, and were asked one question only: whether men who raised their hands against the Pope and the Holy Roman Church were heretics? Forced to reply in the affirmative, they were told that they had passed judgment of death upon themselves.

At noon on the same day, November 8, 1520, ninety persons, belonging chiefly to the nobility, but including a few burghers, were led forth into the great market place of Stockholm, where, closely guarded by Danish troops, they were beheaded one by one before the eyes of the terror-stricken citizens. The first who suffered was Bishop Mads of Strängnäs, who, as the ax was falling, cried aloud, "The king is a traitor, and God will avenge this wrong!" When Erik Johansson Vasa, the father of future kings of Sweden, was led out, a messenger from Christian came to him to offer him pardon and grace. "No," he cried, "for God's sake, let me die

with all these honest men, my brethren!" and he, too, laid his head upon the block.

A heavy storm of rain began falling at the close of this frightful butchery, and the blood streamed along the streets, and gurgled and splashed up from the muddy market place. Christian, turning his back on the ghastly spectacle, left Stockholm in full confidence that nothing would hinder the scheme he had nearest to heart, namely, the restoration of the *bourgeoisie* and peasantry to the position of mainstays of the monarchy, such as they had been in olden times. At Jonköping he ordered the captain of the castle to be executed, together with his children, and at Nysala he caused the abbot and a number of his servitors to be drowned. The lower orders, however, saw only the horror of these deeds and felt only fear and hatred for the man who had planned them, and who was known henceforth simply as "The Tyrant."

It has been well said that the "Union of Calmar was drowned in the blood bath" of November 8, 1520, for from that day till the spring of 1523, when Gustaf Vasa was crowned king of Sweden, the Swedes never abated from their determination to release themselves from their Danish bonds.

Gustaf Eriksson Vasa, who was born in 1496, was the son of Erik Johansson, one of the victims in the blood bath of Stockholm, and had been made captive and carried to Denmark by the orders of Christian when he came into the latter's custody as a hostage. This king, known to foreigners as Gustavus, was called Gustaf by his own countrymen. The name Vasa was never used by Gustaf himself, nor had it belonged to any of his ancestors, surnames not having been adopted by the Swedish nobles at that period. Some writers have derived the name from the estate of Vasa in Upland; but others, with apparently better reason, believe it to have been taken from the arms of the family, which were a fascine (or vase) such as was used in storming, the black color of which was changed by King Gustaf into gold (or), which led to the idea that his cognizance had been a sheaf of ripe corn. Gustaf had been kept a prisoner for more than a year at Kallo, in Jutland, but had escaped in 1519, finding safety for a time at Lübeck. In the spring of 1520 he had ventured to return to Sweden, where he was forced to assume various disguises, and to labor on farms and in the mines of Dalekarlia, to elude the Danish authorities, by whom a price had been set on his head. The

Swedish peasants themselves at first often threatened his life, declaring that they meant to be true to the king as long as "he left them herrings and salt enough for themselves and their families." But by degrees friends and supporters sprang up around him, and his confidence in his countrymen was seldom abused.

Once he only escaped falling into the hands of the Danes by concealing himself under a load of hay, and when the soldiers thrust their spears into the mass and wounded him in the side, he still kept silence, while his faithful guide, to account for the appearance of the blood which had trickled from his wound to the frozen, snow-covered road, cut his horse in the leg. The barn at Rankhytta in Dalekarlia, where he thrashed oats; the spot in the woods near Marnaas, where he lay three days and nights concealed under a felled pine trunk, and was fed by the peasants of the district; and many other places rendered memorable by his labors, are still preserved and honored in Sweden.

Even though the peasants refused to listen to the first public appeal which Gustaf made to them at the Mora Stone, they did not betray him; and when soon after he had left the district at their request, the particulars of the blood bath were related to them by a noble of Upland, named Jon Michelsson, they repented of their conduct, and wished Gustaf Eriksson among them once more. By Michelsson's advice they sent swift "skid" runners to seek Gustaf. Following him night and day, the skaters finally came upon him at a mountain pass between Sweden and Norway, just as he was about to cross the frontier, and brought him back to Mora, where, at the King's Stone, peasants assembled from all the neighboring districts elected him to be their "chief man in the kingdom." The superstitious country folk regarded it as a favorable omen that whenever Gustaf had addressed them the wind had blown from the north, which had always been looked upon in Sweden as a proof that "God would give the matter a good ending." Sixteen powerful men were chosen for Gustaf's bodyguard, and presently several hundred Dalesmen had offered him their services as foot-followers. From these small beginnings of power the Swedish chroniclers date the commencement of Gustaf's reign, although the Danes and their adherents in Stockholm continued long after these events to regard him and his followers as rebels.

In the spring of 1521 Gustaf suddenly made his appearance at the royal copper mines above Ritwik, where he seized the money

belonging to the crown and the wares of the Danish traders settled there, and carried off the royal bailiff, Christopher Olsson, whom he intrusted to the safekeeping of one of his faithful Dalesmen. The money and goods he divided among his followers, who made their first flag from a piece of silk taken from the Danes. Subsequently presenting himself before the miners while they were attending mass, Gustaf made them a long address, in which he de-

tailed the evils that the Danes were working in the land, and by his force and eloquence obtained a promise of support from them, as well as from the Dalesmen of Dalekarlia.

In the meantime the authority of the Danish king was maintained at Stockholm, where Didrik Slaghoek ruled under the title of regent of Sweden, and was supported by the archbishop, Gustaf Trolle, and a faction of the Swedish nobles and chief citizens. As soon as these learned the action of the Dalesmen they sent an

ABDICATION OF GUSTAVUS VASA AT THE DIET OF VESTERAAS, JUNE 24, 1527

Painting by Louis Hersent

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army of 8000 Germans to attack Gustaf's followers, whom they found assembled on the banks of the Dal, near the Brunnbäk ferry, pouring a shower of arrows with strong and steady aim across the little stream. Bishop Beldenak, the militant churchman, who commanded the Danes, was curious to know how the Dalesmen could get food in such a desolate region. On hearing that they were so hardy that they drank only water and, if necessary, could make shift to live on barkbread, he is reported by the chroniclers to have declared: "If this be so, my comrades, let us retreat while we may; for the devil himself, let alone ordinary mortals, could never subdue a people who can live on wood and water." The victory at Brunnbäk dispirited the Danes and gave the turning-point to Gustaf's fortunes; and by encouraging the peasantry to declare themselves for him, placed the whole of northern Sweden in his power. Soon 20,000 men were gathered round his standard at Vesteraas. Here a second victory was won, with little havoc to the Danes, indeed, but with great moral effect upon the Swedish yeomanry. Gustaf's cause now gained ground consistently and steadily. Castle after castle succumbed to force or stratagem, and soon there was not a Danish leader left in Sweden, except Christian's able commander, Severin, or Sören Norby, who by his gallant defense of Stockholm gave a temporary check to Gustaf's arms. The feeling against the Danes in Sweden had, however, risen to so high a pitch that successful resistance could no longer be opposed to the natural desire for independence. Christian II. himself aided the Swedish cause, having never for a moment desisted from his course of persecution. When the news reached Sweden in 1522 that many of the widows and children of the victims in the blood bath had died in the dungeons into which the king had flung them when he carried them to Denmark, the fury of the Swedes knew no bounds. Gustaf Eriksson's mother and his two sisters had been among the first to succumb to the cruel treatment to which they were subjected, and in the letter which he addressed to the Pope, the emperor, and all Christian princes, in 1522, in explanation of the reasons that had induced him and his followers to rise against the power of the King of Denmark, Gustaf even ventured to accuse the king of having poisoned the Swedish women who had died in the Danish prisons. When Christian learned the purport of Gustaf's appeal, he sent orders to Norby to execute every Swedish noble whom he could seize, but the Danish commander let his

prisoners escape whenever he could, on the ground that it was "better that men should have a chance of getting a knock on the head in battle than to wring their necks as if they were chickens."

Not all Danes had such scruples. The Junker Thomas, commandant of Abo, obeyed his king's orders so exactly that he was able to send a report to Denmark that he had celebrated another blood bath. This officer, however, met his own death in the following year, when, in making an attempt to relieve Stockholm, he and all his ships fell into the hands of Gustaf, by whom he was hanged on a tree in sight of his own men. In April, 1523, King Christian himself was without a throne and was in full flight from his Danish realm. His deposition was followed in Sweden by a meeting of the diet at Strängnäs, where, on June 23, in that year, Gustaf Eriksson was proclaimed king of Sweden, and the union with Denmark, which had existed for one hundred and twenty-six years, forever dissolved. During the short interval between the deposition of Christian and the proclamation of Gustaf, one town after the other had been relieved of its Danish garrison, Calmar and Stockholm taken, and the provinces of Skaania, Bleking, and Halland incorporated by force of arms, and by subsequent treaties with the kingdom of Sweden, of which they had always formed an original part, both by virtue of their geographical position and their national character. Before the close of the year Finland had declared its willingness to receive Gustaf as its king, and thus all the Swedish dominions were brought under the power of the one man, who centered in himself the wishes and hopes of the entire nation. "Sweden had become a national monarchy in the modern patriotic sense of the term."

When Gustaf made his entry into Stockholm in midsummer, 1523, he found a ruined and desolate capital, the spirit of whose people was broken by the misery of the past siege and the oppression of foreign rule. There was no money to meet the expenses of government, the nobles and prelates, who were the only classes able to contribute to that end, having made themselves immune from all taxation and service to the crown, except in case of foreign invasion. The Hanse Leaguers, who had also secured to themselves entire freedom of trade in return for the services which they had rendered the Swedes against Denmark, pressed their claims for payment for the arms and provisions which they had furnished Gustaf during his siege of Stockholm. Thus, whichever

way the new ruler looked, financial difficulties seemed to oppose insurmountable obstacles to the attainment of order in the kingdom. Then it was that Gustaf determined to crush at one blow the power of the higher clergy, who had made themselves hateful to the people by their efforts to uphold the union with Denmark, and to relieve his own wants and those of the state at the expense of the church.

The Reformation movement, now under way in Germany, created the opportunity. Already when the brothers Olaus and Laurentius Petri, who had studied at Wittenberg, had returned to Sweden in 1519 and begun teaching the people Luther's doctrines, Gustaf had given them his support. He now appointed Olaus to a church at Stockholm, and made the younger brother professor of theology at Upsala, and soon afterward chose for his chancellor the provost, Laurentius Andreae, who had renounced Catholicism and who later translated the New Testament into Swedish. He also caused a public disputation to be held between the supporters of the old and the new dogmas, paying no attention to the Papal letter presented to him by Brask, Bishop of Linköping, in which Adrian VI. ordered a court of inquisition to be opened in every bishopric of Sweden for the punishment of heretics and the condemnation of Luther's works. At this point the excesses of two Anabaptists named Knipperdolling and Rink, who, with their followers, set about destroying the images in the churches, produced considerable disturbances in Stockholm. Temporary discredit was thus placed upon the Reform movement, until Gustaf ordered the iconoclasts to be driven out of Sweden. Afterward, when the people declared that they wished to keep to the faith of their fathers, Gustaf reassured them to the effect that he desired merely to purge the church of its abuses. But already, avowing that "necessity has no law," he had begun his campaign against church property, seeking out pretexts for reclaiming church lands, subjecting the bishops who protested to special humiliations and exactions, banishing the primate, Johannes Magnus, and finally, at the diet of Vadstena, in January, 1526, appropriating two-thirds of the church tithes to be gathered that winter. "For," said the chancellor, "when we speak of the church's money, we mean the people's." [1]

At length, Gustaf summoned the diet of Vesteraas, to discuss

[1] "The History of Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, with Extracts from his Correspondence," London, 1852, p. 128.

the entire religious question. It met June 24, 1527. The opening address, which was the king's, though it was read by the chancellor, is a highly important document and may profitably be reproduced at some length.[2] The king began by recalling the fact that he had offered to resign the regency at an early date in the revolt against the Danish king. 'But finding that no one would undertake the office he had conducted it in God's name, and to the best of the ability which God had given him.' However, the completion of the revolt had necessitated expenditures which had obliged him to crave assistance from foreign lands, especially from Lübeck and the other Hanse towns. This debt still remained unliquidated. "After the surrender of Stockholm the nobles and people had chosen him king and promised him all loyal support and obedience; and, though he had met great opposition, chiefly owing to the unsteadiness which the Swedes were wont to observe in regard to their princes, and for fear the same game would be played with him, as with others, yet, partly because he was then young, and believed the oaths and promises which they made him on behalf of the whole kingdom, and partly because he thought that the Swedes, taught by past bitter experiences, would thenceforth avoid disunion and conspiracies, and not hastily attempt any change, he had given his consent—of which he had often repented. Who could rule a people that, as soon as a crime was punished, passed from hand to hand the signal for revolt?" The Dalesmen were particularly prone to misprision of treason, to disloyal complaining, and to take an exaggerated view of their own privileges and importance. "Swaggerly [they] claim greater privileges than others, as if, in comparison with them, they were serfs and slaves." Also 'they laid to his [Gustaf's] charge the dearness of salt, of corn, and cloth—which he had done his best to cheapen—as if he were a god, and everything were in his power.' They complained that he had pillaged monasteries and churches, and had quartered troops upon them, 'which merely meant that assistance had been obtained of them to lighten the burdens of the people; but this, too, had been with the consent of the state council, and might well be, seeing that the people had accumulated this wealth and that it was their own. It was imputed to him that he was bringing in a new religion, only because he and many more had found out how they had been deceived, and in many things oppressed, by the ecclesiastics, who

[2] "The History of Gustavas Vasa, King of Sweden, with extracts from his correspondence," pp. 146-149.

exalt the Pope of Rome. The rulers of the kingdom had been too long obliged to put up with the insults of warlike and turbulent prelates, such as Gustaf Trolle, who had threatened to use sharper weapons against Sten Sture than book and candle. The regent could support only 500 soldiers from the resources of the state, because the crown and nobles had only a third part of the landed property, while priests or monks, churches or convents had all the rest. He confessed that he permitted the preaching of God's word and Gospel, and some of the preachers were here ready to defend their doctrine; the prelates of the church, however, would not listen to them, but relied upon ancient custom, right or wrong. It was falsely and shamelessly said of him that he wanted no priests in the country; he hoped to die a Christian; he knew that teachers could not be dispensed with; . . . but with respect to those who did not perform their functions for the public good he should consult the estates. For his part, he was ready to abdicate the throne, take a fief instead, and thank them for the honor they had done him; but if Sweden would have a king, he must have means to support his power. The new style of warfare which had arisen in other countries demanded larger outlays; the fortresses of the kingdom were in decay or ruin; the king's revenues were withheld, when every man was lord of his own castle. Besides, the nobles were so impoverished that they could not fulfill their obligation of protecting the realm, and were continually asking, and no wonder, for new fiefs. The customs had vanished, the silver and copper mines fallen off, food for the towns had failed, and for the miserable remains of trade, town and country squabbled with each other. Such evils demanded a remedy, whosoever was to rule over the kingdom.'

At the conclusion of the reading of the address Gustaf challenged the prelates and nobles, particularly the former, to make a satisfactory response; whereupon Bishop Brask arose. He said that he and his brethren knew the duty that they owed the king, but they could not forget that they were bound in all spiritual matters to obey the Pope, without whose express command they could allow no changes in regard to religious teaching nor consent to any lessening of the rights and revenues of the church; and concluded by saying that "if in this respect any evil-minded men had taught heretical doctrines, or given bad advice, they must be put to silence and punished." Gustaf demanded whether the council of state and the nobles considered this a proper reply to his demands. There-

upon, Ture Jönsson, the spokesman of the nobility, vociferated that they knew nothing better to say, "Then," exclaimed Gustaf, springing excitedly to his feet, "I will no longer be your king. If such are your thoughts I do not wonder at the treason and discontent of the common people, who blame me if they do not get rain or sunshine, when they want either. Your aim, I perceive, is to be my masters. Who would be your king on such terms, think you? Not the worst beset soul out of hell. So see to it; give me back what I have spent of my own fortune, and I will go away from you all, and never return to my ungrateful country." Gustaf paused, and, bursting into tears, rushed from the hall.

There was great excitement throughout Vesteraas when it transpired that King Gustaf had threatened to leave Sweden. The peasants, collecting in large numbers, proclaimed that "if the lords could not make up their minds what ought to be done, the bondar would find a way to help themselves." The bishops were the first to recede from their position. On the third day Magnus Sommar, Bishop of Strängnäs, came forward and said that "the servants of the church had no wish to be protected at the risk of destroying the peace of the kingdom." The nobles under Ture Jönsson, however, still held out, till the bondar, at length, threatened to go to the king and propose to him that the recalcitrants should all be sent back to their own castles. The nobles now yielded, and came in deputation to the palace with promises of submission. But Gustaf returned only hard answers to the messages sent in to him. Not until all his proposals had been completely and explicitly acceded to by each order of the diet did he melt.

By the so-called "Vesteraas Recess," the church surrendered to the king all its property, not adjudged by him to be absolutely necessary to its maintenance. Reformed teachers were permitted to preach in Swedish to the people "as long as they used the Scriptures only and had nothing to do with false miracles and such like fables." The change to Lutheranism was very gradual, the king consenting to persecute nobody. At the same time he insisted upon the limitlessness of his authority "in matters both spiritual and temporal," and when his will was disputed by the Dalesmen, because he insisted on taking one bell from every church to pay a debt due the Lübeckers, and subsequently by the peasants of Smaaland in the interest of Christian II. of Denmark, the uprisings were put down with the greatest severity. Unlike the Reformation

in Denmark, the Reformation in Sweden was initially purely political and meant not only the undoing of the clergy, but also of the nobility. The council of state, or riksrag, was henceforth an acquiescent board of advisers for the king. In 1544 Gustaf was able to fortify the royal power still further by securing a law making the throne hereditary in his family.

From 1544 till the end of his life, Gustaf never desisted from his labors for the improvement of his kingdom, and so untiring was his industry and his determination to be master in all things that there was no subject, however trivial, that he did not consider and determine. He set the finances of the kingdom in such order that he left at his death a well-filled treasury, a standing army of 15,000 men, and a well-appointed fleet. He supervised everything in person, writing with his own hand letters to the clergy in regard to the management of their houses and lands, and rating them soundly for any proceedings in their parishes of which he did not approve. He corresponded with the overseers of the royal mines and forests in regard to their expenses and the best methods of controlling the works under their care; with the nobles in regard to the proper manner in which they should rule their houses and families, plow their land, and tend their cattle; and with his own relations and personal attendants on the subject of their dress and domestic affairs.

He exacted tithes to the utmost, but he kept the parish priests well provided with the means for extracting the greatest profit from the land which they were allowed to hold under the crown. Swedish trade owed its origin to Gustaf, and when he found that the people living at the seaports did not take an active part in the American and Indian trade, which he desired to encourage, he sent them harsh reproofs and threatened to come himself and see what they were doing. No kind of business escaped his tireless attention. He enjoined it upon master-workmen, on penalty of fine, to engage apprentices and to teach them with care and patience. He drew up regulations for the maintenance of greater cleanliness in the towns, and ordered roads to be made from north to south to penetrate the kingdom. He took pains to see that schools were maintained in the several parishes, and gave a new character to the university teaching at Upsala. He even caused a new rhyming chronicle to be drawn up, for the purpose, as he said, of "giving a true account of the events recorded by the Danish chroniclers, and

to sustain in the minds of his people the remembrance of the conduct of the Danes during their rule in Sweden."

In every way Gustaf Vasa paved the way for the "Glorious Epoch" in Swedish history, which ensued in the following century. He looked upon Sweden as his own. "You think," he wrote to some peasants, "that because you have come into possession of your land by inheritance that you can use it as you choose; we answer that we leave lands and houses in the possession of those who know how to use them properly—otherwise they revert to us." Upon this theory was based his minute supervision of his people's industries, his tireless personal efforts in the development of the national resources. In his treaty of alliance with Francis I. of France, negotiated in 1544, Gustaf wrote a new chapter in the history of Sweden's foreign relations. At that moment Sweden entered the European concert of powers. Finally, Gustaf began the organization of the Swedish army, which, in the seventeenth century, was to become the most efficient military machine that Europe had ever known.

Gustaf was three times married. His first queen was Katherine of Saxe-Lauenburg. The issue of this marriage was the half-insane Erik. Knowing the violence and caprice of Erik's nature Gustaf determined to make his younger sons independent of their brother. Accordingly, by his will, he left, as hereditary duchies, Finland to Johan the next in age, East Gothland to Magnus, and Soedermannland and Vermland to his youngest son, Karl, who was then a child. Soon after the king had received the sanction of his council and the diet for this subdivision of the kingdom, he died in 1560 at the age of sixty-four, worn out with the tremendous burden of his energetic rule. In accordance with the wishes which he had expressed, he was buried within the chancel of the cathedral church of Upsala.

Chapter XIII

THE RISE OF SWEDEN INTO EUROPEAN PROMINENCE
1560-1611

ERIK XIV. of Sweden is a curious and picturesque character. At the time of his father's death he was about to start on a voyage to England to make a formal suit to Queen Elizabeth, and had caused a considerable fleet and a number of men-at-arms to be given him, in order, as he said, that he might make a gallant appearance at the English court, though many suspected that he designed to seize upon the crown without waiting till it came to him by heritage. The news of Gustaf's sudden death reached Erik while he was reviewing his ships and men at Elfsborg. Disbanding his forces, he hurried back to Stockholm and caused himself to be proclaimed king. He was at that time twenty-seven years of age, handsome, graceful, eloquent, accomplished in manly exercises, a good linguist, able to write well in Latin, as well as in Swedish, and is reported to have been something of a poet, musician, painter, mathematician, and astrologer.

But this prodigious list of accomplishments was offset by a strangely capricious disposition and by sudden and violent outbursts of temper, which at times amounted to insanity. And if the young king was prodigal of his talents, he was even more prodigal of his resources. During the early years of his reign he wasted in preparations for his coronation, and in various absurd missions in search of a wife, all the money that his father had left in the treasury. Besides the regalia, which he ordered from London and Antwerp, and chests of jewels and ornaments of all kinds, he caused a number of strange animals, which had never before been seen in Sweden, to be brought into the country, for the public games with which he intended to amuse the people. We learn from the lists given of these animals that rabbits were at that time unknown, or still uncommon, in Sweden, for they are included, with lions and camels, among the rare and curious creatures to be exhibited.

As soon as his coronation was over Erik resumed his prepara-

tions for soliciting the hand of Queen Elizabeth, to whom he sent ambassadors with costly gifts, among which we hear of eighteen piebald horses, and several chests of uncoined bars of gold and silver, strings of oriental pearls, and many valuable furs. He also furnished money to his envoy, Gyllenstjerna, with orders to bribe the English councilors of state, and to "have the queen's favorite, Leicester, put out of the way, even if it should cost 10,000 rix dollars." During the preceding year his intentions toward the earl had been more honorable, for he then directed Gyllenstjerna to inform Leicester that 'his king was ready to offer him battle in his own royal person either in Scotland or France.' The English courtiers were thrown into great consternation when they heard that King Erik had embarked with a great fleet from Sweden, with matrimonial designs upon their queen. But they might have spared themselves all their anxiety; for Erik, with a fickleness that had already begun to assume the character of mental aberrancy, suddenly gave over his plan of visiting England. At the same time he sent one messenger to Scotland to see if Queen Mary was as handsome as people reported; another with a betrothal ring to Princess Renata of Lorraine, the granddaughter of Christian II. of Denmark; and a third with a contract of marriage, already drawn up, to the Princess Christina of Hesse, for whose hand he had more than once sued. Lest Queen Elizabeth should feel herself aggrieved by these proceedings, he sent another embassy to England to assure her that cares of state alone had kept him away, and that he was not serious in his offer of marriage to the Hessian princess. The queen accepted his apologies and kept his gifts, and so ended this Swedish wooing, to the immense relief of Elizabeth and her advisers.

While Erik was indulging in all this eccentricity and extravagance wars were breaking out in every quarter. The most important of these was the so-called Scandinavian Seven Years' War, which, arising out of the rival pretensions of Erik and of Frederick II. of Denmark to include the crowns of the three northern nations in their coats of arms, was marked by great atrocities on both sides. The Danes were seldom the victors at sea, but, during the latter part of the struggle, they often met with signal successes on land under their able general, Daniel Rantzau. His death, while besieging Varberg in 1569, brought the war to a close, after it had cost both sides a deplorable number of lives, and had again

aroused that mutual jealousy of the two nations, which, under Gustaf, had begun to abate.

Even before this war was concluded, however, Erik was no longer king; his infatuation for the peasant girl, Katherine Mannadatter, whom he made his queen; his imbecile wanderings in the forests; his alternate moods of murderous frenzy, which his evil adviser, Göran Persson, manipulated to the destruction of the great Sture family, and of penitential remorse, with its sackcloth and ashes, all bespoke his distraction of mind. Finally, he drove his brother, Magnus, insane by compelling him to sign the death-warrant of another brother, Duke Johan. The latter, in alliance with a third brother, Duke Karl, immediately took up arms, and advanced upon the royal castle at Stockholm, where Erik had shut himself up with his queen and their children. Göran, who was also there, was seized by the king's own bodyguard and given over to the dukes, and, after a short trial, was put to death, after having undergone the most horrible tortures that his enemies' ingenuity could devise.

When Erik learned the fate of his favorite he surrendered, and was, by the order of his brothers, brought to trial before the assembled states. He conducted his own defense. The diet, however, declared that he had forfeited the crown for himself and his children, and condemned him to perpetual confinement, with the attendance and personal consideration due a royal prisoner.

The eight years that Erik lived after his deposition in 1569 were most pathetic. He was carried from one prison to another on the pretense that his presence had excited insurrection, and always under the guardianship of men who had been made his enemies by some former act of injustice or cruelty on his part. He addressed frequent appeals for mercy to his brother, begging piteously to be allowed to retire to some foreign land, where he might enjoy having his wife and children with him. "Surely," he once wrote, "the world is large enough to yield a spot where distance may deaden the force of a brother's hatred." His threats, his indignant protests against his brother's usurpation, and every attempt made by his friends to rescue him, were visited upon him with an increase of harshness. In his calmer moments he amused himself with reading and with music, and by writing long treatises in his own justification. In 1575 the council of state, at the request of Johan, signed a warrant in which power was given to Erik's

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keepers to put him out of the way if, in consequence of any attempt at his rescue, they might not be certain of being able to retain him in safe custody. For two years no one could be found to act on the hint. At last, however, Johan found one Heinricksson willing to undertake the job, and Erik was poisoned, in the forty-fourth year of his age. His body was laid in a simple grave in the cathedral of Vesteraas, and covered with a stone bearing this inscription in Latin from I. Kings, chapter ii., verse 15: "The kingdom is turned about, and is become my brother's: for it was his from the Lord."

Erik's love for the humbly born Katherine Mannadatter had been so sincere that the common people ascribed it to sorcery. She alone had ever had power to turn away his anger, and throughout his wretched captivity she never ceased to avail herself of every chance to give him assurances of her faithful love; and those, as he himself asserts in his numerous writings, were the only alleviations he had to his misery. Of their two children the elder, Sigrid, married early, when at the court of Johan's queen, and became the ancestress of the ducal family, Thott. The younger, a son named Gustaf, after being sent out of Sweden in childhood and forced to earn his own living by teaching, was for a time kindly treated and helped by the Emperor Rudolph, under whose protection he studied alchemy. His strange and checkered life, which has often been made the subject of romance, was rendered more unhappy by the frequent attempts of the discontented in Sweden to set up his claims against his uncle Johan. Hence he was never suffered to remain long in quiet, and wherever he went the Swedish king's jealous suspicions followed him. At length he died in 1607 at an obscure country place in Russia, worn out with poverty, disease, and insanity, induced by a too sedulous study of alchemy and astrology.

In all the proceedings against Erik, the name of Karl had invariably been associated with that of Johan, but when the insane king was irretrievably out of the way Duke Johan asserted his right to be crowned sole ruler and began to evince such suspicion of his younger brother as to compel that prince to observe the greatest circumspection in his conduct.

Johan, during his imprisonment, had been induced by his wife, Katerina Jagellonica, who shared his dungeon, to renounce Protestantism and declare himself a Catholic, and during her life-

time he never desisted from his efforts to reëstablish the power of the Roman Church in Sweden. The death in 1573 of Laurentius Petri, the first Lutheran archbishop of Sweden, gave Johan the opportunity of testifying publicly the views which he had long been trying secretly to promote. The new primate, Gothus, a weak and visionary man, was easily persuaded to give his sanction to a church ordinance for the restoration of monasteries, the veneration of saints, prayers for the dead, and the use of various prelatical ceremonies. Jesuits were sent for to lecture in Stockholm, but were expressly ordered to conceal their religion, and to hold disputations nominally in the defense of the Reformers. When Pope Gregory XIII. learned the acts of duplicity in which these Jesuit teachers had been engaged, he strongly condemned their conduct, and enjoined upon the king boldly to proclaim his adhesion to the Church of Rome, and to use no further deceit in the matter. Some years later he even caused Father Laurentius Norvegicus to be summoned before the general of the order of Jesuits at Rome, to answer for his conduct in pretending to uphold doctrines which he believed to be false. The liturgy which Johan had drawn up with a view to reconciling the new with the old faith, and which had been severely condemned by the Papal court, was known as Röda Boken, the red book. The king's determination to enforce this ritual on his subjects produced great clamor. Soon throughout Sweden the court of Duke Karl, who had refused to allow it to be introduced in his provinces of Soedermanland, Närike, and Vermland, became the recognized asylum for all persons threatened with persecution for their adhesion to the doctrines of the Reformers. The Pope's disapproval of Johan's conduct and the death of his queen had the effect of estranging him completely from the Catholics, but, until his marriage in 1585 with Gunilla Bjelke, a young girl of sixteen, and daughter of the Lutheran councilor, Johan Bjelke, he insisted all the more vehemently upon the use of his own liturgy, punishing all preachers and teachers who opposed its adoption as "ignorant blockheads, obstinate asses, and wicked devils."

Johan was a man of unstable will, possessed with extravagant ideas of his own dignity and of the divine character of the royal power, but his weakness and vanity made him most susceptible to flattery and therefore readily amenable to control by those about his person. After his second marriage he identified himself more

and more with the interests of the Swedish nobles, the Bjelkes, Sparres, Bauers, and others, with whom he had become related. In his anxiety to secure the steadfast adhesion of these and other powerful families he created new privileges of nobility, and bestowed estates and certain manorial rights in connection with the title of count and baron, which had not hitherto belonged to them, thus undoing much of Gustaf Vasa's wholesome work.

This unfriendly attitude toward the nobility did not endure, however. In 1587 Prince Sigismund, the only son of Johan and Katerina, was elected to the vacant throne of Poland. He was received by the Poles with every mark of respect and affection, but the cares of government and the independence of the nobles made the young king very soon regret that he had accepted the Polish crown and separated himself from his own family. King Johan was equally regretful that he had allowed the prince to leave him, and, at a meeting held between them in 1589, father and son determined to renounce all claims to the throne of Poland, as soon as Sigismund's resignation could be accepted. This plan, however, met with so much opposition among Johan's councilors and officers that the kings had to submit and return separately to their respective capitals. The Swedish king, enraged with his council, now caused the greater number of its members to be arrested, and called upon them to defend themselves on the charge of treason, while he effected a complete reconciliation with his brother, Duke Karl, and resigned to him the chief power in the state. The disgraced councilors, Erik Sparre, Thur Bjelke, and Sten Bauer, were deprived of all their tenures of land and dignities, and although no act of treason could be proved against them they were kept in close confinement till 1592.

Johan's reign was unfortunate in almost every respect, for while religious differences had been allowed to disturb the kingdom, the army and navy had been neglected, bad seasons, murrain, famine, and pestilence had heavily afflicted the working classes, and the finances had been exhausted by wars with Russia and Poland. Indeed, the one event of this period, bringing good fortune to Sweden, was a legacy from the reign of the insane Erik, *viz.*, the Peace of Stettin, whereby the dissolution of the union of Denmark and Sweden was formally recognized, the right of both kings to assume the three crowns in the royal arms was admitted, Skaania, Halland, and Bleking were restored to Denmark, and Sweden was

allowed to take Elfsborg back on the payment to Denmark of a fine of 150,000 rix dollars.[1]

During the reign of Johan we hear for the first time of the Russians as formidable neighbors and foes of Sweden. Before the accession in 1533 of Ivan IV., who was crowned tsar of Muscovy in 1545, the savage tribes of Russia had hardly been heard of beyond the boundaries of their indefinite dominions, but under that ferocious tyrant they began to make war on neighboring states. Ivan had, however, formed a sort of friendly alliance with Erik XIV. of Sweden, who as a proof of his good-will had agreed to help the Muscovite in securing for himself the wife of Duke Johan, Katerina Jagellonica. After Erik's abdication Russian envoys appeared at Stockholm to demand the person of Katerina, and the rage of the people, on learning the insult which had been thus offered to their queen, was so great that it required the personal interference of King Johan himself and of Duke Karl to prevent the envoys from being killed in the streets of Stockholm. They were, however, allowed to return to Russia, and in 1570 a Swedish embassy was sent to negotiate with Ivan in regard to the settlement of a boundary question. In total disregard of his pledges of safe conduct, the tsar treated these envoys with atrocious cruelty, and, after detaining them for two years in confinement, sent them back to Sweden with the message that he intended to make himself master of Livonia. This was the signal for war, and, till Ivan's death in 1584, the people of Finland, Livonia, and the neighboring districts were subjected to the most fearful atrocities at the hands of their barbarous foes, who burned their prisoners alive and spared neither women nor children. Sweden also suffered heavily until the gallant French nobleman, Ponte de la Gardie, who commanded a troop of free lances in the Swedish service, gave a new turn to the course of events, and together with the Swedish captains, Henrik and Klas Horn, recovered Livonia, and led his victorious army across the Russian frontier. Ivan on his deathbed counseled his son Feodor to make peace with Sweden, whose military talent the Russians had learned to respect. Johan, however, refused to agree to any terms and thus entailed upon his kingdom during the rest of his reign the continuance of a costly and destructive war.

Three years after Johan's death Duke Karl settled a favorable

[1] A silver coin ranging in value between $1.15 and 60 cents, though usually worth a little over $1.

peace with Russia by which Esthonia and Narva were secured to Sweden, while Kexholm and some other places on the confines of Finland were restored to the tsar. Klas Fleming, the powerful governor general of Finland, resisted the surrender of Kexholm, and it was not until 1597 that Sweden was able to carry out its part of the peace.

Johan's death occurred in the autumn of 1592 at his palace in Stockholm. Karl at once assumed the direction of affairs until the wishes of Sigismund could be known. In this respect he was simply continuing to retain the power which had been confided to him by King Johan, three years before, but, foreseeing the policy that his Catholic nephew would probably pursue in regard to questions of religion, he determined to settle the government of the Swedish church before Sigismund's arrival. A meeting of the clergy and representatives of the other orders of the state was, therefore, called at Upsala in 1593, in which, after prolonged and stormy discussion, the Augsburg Confession of Faith, adopted by the Lutherans of Germany, was recognized as the established cult of Sweden. "Now," said the president of the assembly, "Sweden is as one man, and we have one God." The Swedes regard the adoption of the Upsala Möta as one of the chief events in their religious history, as indeed it is, since it settled finally the dogmatic character of the Swedish Reformed Church.

After great opposition the Polish estates consented, on the death of Johan, to permit Sigismund to return to Sweden, and voted a sum of 200,000 gulden in order that he might accomplish the journey in the state befitting his rank. After a tedious and stormy voyage from Dantzig, where Klas Fleming, the powerful governor of Finland, met him with a squadron of Swedish vessels, Sigismund and his queen reached Stockholm in September, 1593, attended by a brilliant retinue of Polish gentlemen, and accompanied by the Papal legate, Mala-Spina. Duke Karl stood ready on the castle bridge to welcome the young king, and by his side was Abraham Angermannus, the newly elected Lutheran primate of Sweden, whose former zealous opposition to Johan's liturgy made his appearance as unwelcome to the king and his friends as the sight of a Roman prelate was distasteful to the Swedes.

This episode was ominous of the general situation: the diversity of faith would not down. First differences arose between the uncle and nephew; and the duke, returning in haste to his own do-

minions, left the council to manage as they best could a king who rarely summoned them into his presence and kept almost entirely to the society of his Polish friends and Jesuit admirers. Some of the Swedish nobles, as Klas Fleming and others, who were at feud with Duke Karl, attended the royal court, and a few even professed their adhesion to the king's religion; but the majority of the people looked with vexation and distrust upon the Catholic ceremonials which were introduced into some of the Stockholm churches.

On the occasion of a solemn mass for the repose of the soul of the late king, the Swedes and Poles came to blows and blood was shed within the halls of worship. Foreign Jesuits and Swedish Lutherans preached against each other from the different pulpits of the capital. While Sigismund was refusing to ratify the resolutions of Upsala, or to confirm the election of Angermannus as primate of Sweden, the council were insisting upon these very points as the condition on which alone they would grant supplies for the king's coronation. The estates assembled at Upsala forbade the Papal legate to take part in any public ceremonial, and threatened the Jesuits with death if they entered within the cathedral doors, to which declaration Sigismund replied defiantly that it behooved the estates to learn the difference between an hereditary and an elective crown, and that his conscience forbade him to change his religion. As the monarch of an hereditary kingdom, professing a different faith from his own, he would not, however, he said, molest that faith unless the estates should refuse liberty of belief to those who shared his faith.

In the spring of 1594 Sigismund met the estates at Upsala and was crowned with much ceremony in the cathedral church, but not until he had been forced by his uncle and the council to sign a charter confirming the religious liberty that had been secured by the assembly at Upsala the previous year. Sigismund, with his habitual weakness and insincerity, agreed to everything demanded of him at Upsala, yet almost as soon as he reached Stockholm he began to evade all the obligations which he had incurred. Catholic schools and churches were opened, the Protestant services were interfered with, and the safety of those who attended them was so much endangered as to make it necessary to go armed to church. No redress could be obtained from the king, who, after appointing Catholic governors over every province, returned to Poland.

The council at Stockholm in the meantime declared that no Swedish king could govern from abroad, and that unless Sigismund returned to Sweden without delay, a regent must be named to act for him. Thus beset the king reluctantly appointed his uncle to govern in concert with the council of state, but at the same time he dispatched secret orders to the Catholic provincial governors not to honor the regent's government.

The duke and the council likewise had their feud. Even before the surrender of Kexholm there had been an open rupture between them, and Karl had appealed to the diet, with the result that he had been at once named by them governor general of Sweden, and all his acts approved and confirmed. From that moment he appeared as the representative of the bondar and lower landholders of the kingdom, while the higher nobles, whose excessive power he aimed to crush, were compelled either to submit or to leave the kingdom, and carry their grievances to the Polish court. The duke displayed the most consummate tact and abilities of the highest order in dealing with the opposition. First effectually suppressing the rebellion of the peasantry in Finland, known as the War of Clubs (*Klubbekriget*), and then directing his energies to the extirpation of Catholicism, he at last found himself strong enough to meet and overcome the Polish army which Sigismund, in 1598, brought to Sweden for the purpose of compelling him to resign his power. At Stängebro, near Linköping, the rival forces met, and after a sharp engagement the royal army was completely routed, and Sigismund was forced to agree to the terms proposed by his uncle. Karl insisted upon the disbanding and dismissal of Sigismund's nobles, who had taken refuge in Poland, and the summoning within a period of four months of a diet of all the estates of Sweden, by whose decision the future government of the kingdom was to be regulated. Sigismund fled the country, leaving his friends to fight and suffer in his cause unaided.

The year following the council and estates of Sweden sent envoys to Poland, demanding the immediate return of the royal fugitive, in default of which they declared the Swedish throne forfeit, and requiring that in that case he should send his son Vladislav to Sweden, within a period of six months, to be brought up in the Lutheran faith, in preparation for his future accession to the throne. At the same time the duke advanced with an army into Finland, where Sigismund had powerful friends among the great

nobles, reducing the province in a short campaign to complete submission and avenging the enmity which the nobility had displayed toward him by the summary execution, on a charge of treason, of twenty-nine of their leaders. In the meantime, as Sigismund had paid no heed to the demands of the council and estates of the realm, he and his heirs were declared to have no further claims on the allegiance of the Swedish people. The rights of Duke Johan of East Gothland, as the younger son of the late King Johan, were then taken into consideration. With the refusal of that prince to be considered as a candidate to the Swedish throne, the last obstacle to Duke Karl's accession was removed. He was proclaimed king at Marköping in 1604.

Sigismund continued till his death, in 1632, to reign over Poland, whose national credit and prosperity were severely injured by his incapacity for government and his bigoted intolerance. He left two sons, Vladislav and John Casimir, both of whom became in turn kings of Poland.

Karl, or Charles, IX. of Sweden, as we should prefer to call him, was the only one of Gustaf Vasa's sons who inherited his good sense and steadiness of purpose, as well as his abilities. All the brothers had been learned, able men, but Karl, the youngest, alone knew how to turn his talents to account. He was a stern foe, and knew not how to forgive an enemy, but he was a patient friend and a just man. Like his father, he combined the power of looking closely into details and keeping watch upon the management and expenditure of the smallest sums of money in his own household, with the capacity for laying vast plans for the future greatness of his kingdom. It is related that he carried his frugality so far as to direct that the queen herself should measure out the yarn and thread used by her maidens in weaving and sewing. On the other hand, his history shows that from the very beginning of his struggles with Sigismund, he had resolved to risk his fortune and even his life in the effort to make Sweden a Protestant state; while the great object that he had in view during his latter years was to support the Protestant cause in Germany and to aid in crippling the power of Austria, which he foresaw would in time gather the Catholic German states around it and make a desperate effort to stamp out the Reformed faith. In his will he enjoined upon his wife, son, and nephew carefully to maintain the friendly relations which he had entered into with the Elector Pala-

tine, Frederick V., the Landgraf Moritz of Hesse, and other evangelical princes of Germany; for the idea that Sweden would be called upon to prove her devotion to the cause which those princes upheld seemed ever present to his mind.

Charles IX.'s struggle with Sigismund is to be looked upon as the turning point both of their religious history and of the history of the overthrow of the feudal régime in Sweden. At the death of Johan, Sweden was hovering between Catholicism and Protestantism, and if the regent-duke had not settled all further dissent by the resolutions passed at Upsala, in 1593, Sweden would probably have been numbered among the Catholic states of Europe. In all that he did, Charles always had the lower orders with him, and he was well aware that it was from the nobles alone that he might anticipate opposition. He had long been aware that a party existed in the state which desired to see an elective monarchy supersede the hereditary crown which his father had secured for the Vasas. At the diet of Linköping, in 1600, he caused a number of those nobles who had been surrendered to him by Sigismund to be tried for treason to the state, and for disobedience to his orders while he was regent of the kingdom. A few of these men confessed that they had wished to subvert the Lutheran religion and were otherwise guilty of the charges brought against them, and were pardoned. The heads of the great families of Sparre, Bjelke, and Bauer were, however, condemned to death, while others of equal rank were imprisoned or banished from the kingdom and their estates confiscated. At the same time, the constitution of the realm was established at once on a broader basis and more definitely than hitherto. Burghers and peasants were definitely accorded representation in the deliberations of the national diet and the crown was made hereditary through the female as well as the male descendants of the monarch.

By his solicitude for the welfare of the lower orders of the people Charles won for himself the surname Bondarkongen. On one occasion, when the widow of a clergyman was proved to have had an injustice done her in a lawsuit, he wrote the unjust judge that unless the poor woman at once received her rights, "a stick should soon be dancing the polka on his back." Charles encouraged trade; indeed by laying the foundations of the ports of Karlstad in Vermland, and of Göteborg, on the west coast of Sweden, he may be said to have created the foreign commerce of his king-

dom. In the working of the Swedish silver and copper mines, also, he made great improvements. In short there was not a branch of industry, nor a department in the government, which did not experience the benefit of his able supervision.

In 1609 King Charles sent a Swedish army, under Ponte de la Gardie and Evert Horn, to relieve Moscow from the assault of the impostor, Dmitri, who was aided by Poland, and to secure the succession of the Tsar Vassili Shuiski. In both these objects the generals were successful, but a mutiny having broken out among their men on account of their not receiving the pay promised them by the Russians, and many foreign auxiliaries having gone over to the enemy, De la Gardie and Horn were forced to fall back. With only 400 men they effected a successful retreat through the lands of their enemies, and without any further loss made their way to the Swedish frontiers. Charles sent another army into Russia in 1611, which took Novgorod by storm, and forced the Russians to sign a treaty whereby they pledged themselves not to recognize any of the various pretenders, including Sigismund's son, Vladislav, but to acknowledge the Swedish prince, Karl Philip, as their tsar.

In Charles IX. Sweden found a second and in some ways even greater founder of her glory than Gustaf Vasa. Sweden's greatest historian, Geijer, notes "his inborn striving to grasp across every limit, beyond every goal, to set another." "Except his father, no man before him exercised so deep an influence on the Swedish people. More than a hundred years passed away, and a like personal influence was still reigning upon the throne of Sweden. The nation, hard to move save for immediate self-defense, was borne along, unwilling and yet admiring, repugnant yet loving; as by some potent impulsion, following her Gustaves and Charleses to victory, fame, and to the verge of perdition." The history of the Swedish people becomes the history of her kings.

The distinctive feature, however, of Charles's reign and the one connecting it with the following reign was the system of alliances which in his declining days he planned with the Protestant powers of Europe. In 1608 he sent ambassadors to the Netherlands who offered, in certain contingencies, to furnish the Dutch, who were just concluding their struggle against Spain, 1000 men on horse and foot. In return the Dutch were to allow salt to be exported from the Netherlands. In 1610 he sent an embassy to

England to request from James I. a continuance of the same friendly relations that had existed between him and Queen Elizabeth and to propose an alliance of England, Sweden, France, and the Netherlands against Austria and Spain; and envoys were on their way to France for a similar purpose when the news of the assassination of Henry IV. turned them back. "In the soul of Charles, perchance, more than in any of his contemporaries," says Geijer, "labored the burning future which burst forth in the Thirty Years' War, and not without significance was he wont to observe, laying his hand on the head of the young Gustavus Adolphus, *Il le faciet* (he will do it.)."

Charles died in 1611, shortly after the outbreak of the Calmar War, so-called, with Denmark. He left behind not merely his great reputation as ruler, but also that of a poet and author of no mean ability. He wrote Latin poems, composed numerous hymns and prayers, which were long in use, and left several treatises on political subjects, accounts of his reign, and various journals, which were made ample use of by his son in the history which he drew up of the events of his father's time.

Charles was twice married. By his first wife, Maria of the Palatinate, he had one daughter, Katerina, the ancestress of the later Princes Palatine, and of the Palatinate branch of the Vasa line in Sweden; and by his second wife, Kristina of Holstein-Gottorp, he had two sons, Gustaf Adolf and Karl Philip.

Chapter XIV

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR
1611-1648

GUSTAF II., Adolf, or Gustavus Adolphus, the most accomplished and renowned king of his times, was born in Stockholm in 1594. From the age of ten his father compelled him to attend councils of state and the sittings of the diet, and soon afterward he was taught to receive and reply to—in Latin or in other foreign tongues—the ambassadors who presented their credentials to the Swedish king. He had been so carefully educated under the learned secretary, Johan Skytte, that before he was fifteen he could speak Latin, German, Dutch, French, and Italian, and understood something of Polish and Russian and he had begun the study of Greek. Gustavus, to the close of his short but eventful life, retained his early love of learning, and whenever possible devoted one or two hours daily to the reading of history, politics, and literature with his former tutor, Johan Skytte, preferring above all things, as his friend Axel Oxenstierna tells us, to read in the original, Grotius's "*Tractatus de Jure Belli et Pacis,*" and the works of Xenophon, whom he regarded as the greatest of all military historians.

When King Charles made his young son Grand Duke of Finland, and Duke of Esthonia and Westmannland (in 1609), Skytte accompanied the latter to his ducal realms in order to instruct him in the conduct of public affairs in accordance with the regulations of the Swedish diet, Skytte himself having made the laws and customs of his country a special study.

While Gustavus was keeping court in his capital, Vesteraas, he underwent most careful training in the art of war, and in all kinds of military exercises and maneuvers; and thinking himself no doubt quite an expert captain, demanded of his father, as a right attaching to his station, that he should be made commander-in-chief of the forces in the war with Russia. Much to his disappointment, however, the king refused his request, and made him wait till he had reached his sixteenth birthday, after which, in the

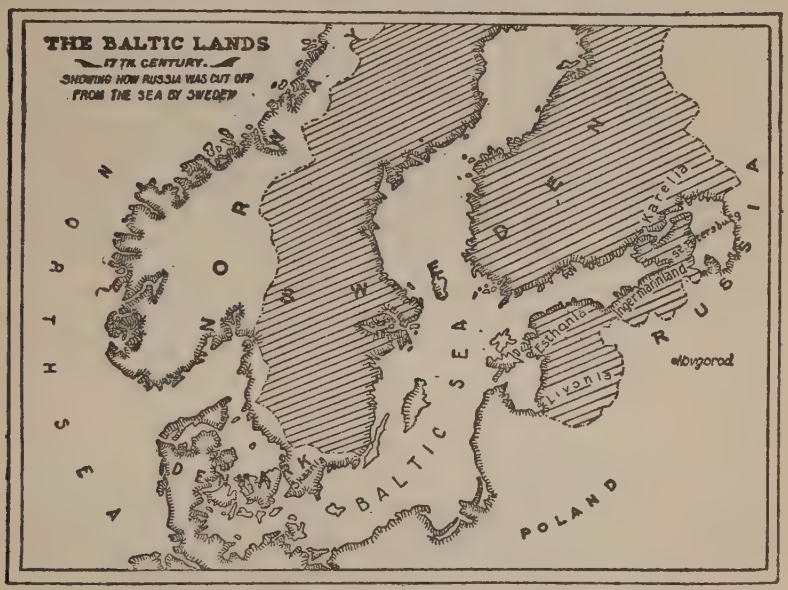
spring of 1611, he was, in accordance with an old northern custom, declared worthy of receiving and carrying arms, and with great state presented by his father to the diet, before whom he was solemnly invested with sword and shield.

At this moment Christian IV. of Denmark, resenting the evident determination of Charles IX. to shut the Danes from all share in the trade with Courland and Livonia and to exact tribute of the Lapps, whom Christian IV. regarded as his own subjects, on the ground that Lapland belonged to Norway, declared war upon Sweden, and in April, 1611, led an army of 16,000 against Calmar. The young Gustavus was now given an opportunity to win his spurs in good earnest. He failed in his attempts to raise the siege of Calmar, whose commander presently yielded the place to the Danes. Christian now waged a devastating war throughout West Gothland, and it was the remembrance of the horrors thus wrought that made Gustavus in after years so earnest a convert to Grotius's doctrine, that war should be waged within the limitations set by the law of nature. At present, however, he contented himself with retorting Danish cruelty upon Skaania. It was now sovereign against sovereign, for in August Charles IX. had died. The war continued in a desultory way through 1612, but next year the Treaty of Knaerad brought peace. Sweden gave up her claims on Norwegian Lapland for six years, after which time that district and the port of Elfsborg, if not redeemed by the Swedes for one million rix dollars, were to be united forever with Denmark. The Danes did not believe it possible for the Swedes to collect so large a sum in the time stipulated, but to their chagrin, the terms of the treaty were met and the cession effected.

Sweden remained without a king for two months after the death of Charles IX. This was due to the deceased monarch's will, which, ignoring entirely the settlement of Linköping (1600), made the queen dowager and the late king's nephew, Duke Johan, acting with six councilors of state, the regents of the kingdom, till Gustavus should attain his eighteenth year. However, the diet, which met at Nokoping in December, 1611, having confirmed the settlement of 1600, the regency now retired, while Duke Johan again formally renounced all claims to the throne.

After the conclusion of peace with Denmark Gustavus renewed with vigor the war against Russia, whose people had chosen a native-born prince for their tsar, to the derogation of their pre-

vious agreement to accept Karl Philip. Twice Gustavus himself advanced into Russia and gained great successes over the Russian leaders, until at length the new tsar found himself forced to agree to a peace, which was signed in 1617 at Stolbova, a little town on the Ladoga Lake. By this treaty Sweden obtained Ingermannland and Karelia and an indemnity of 20,000 rubles, and recovered all her former rights in Livonia, while Novgorod and all other Swedish conquests in Russia were given up. When Gustavus met the estates of his kingdom at Stockholm in 1617, he laid before the diet a full report of this treaty, and after drawing a vivid picture



of the rising power of Russia, and the danger to Sweden of having a neighbor on her flanks whose boundary line stretched from the Caspian Sea to the frozen ocean, he showed them on a map how, by the Peace of Stolbova, Russia was now completely shut out from the Baltic, "and that," he added, "we will hope, by God's help, may always prove too wide a jump even for a Russian." The ground on which St. Petersburg now stands was then Swedish, and on the boundary line a stone was erected, on which were carved the three crowns of Sweden, surmounted by a Latin inscription: "*Huc regni posuit fines Gustav Adolphus Rex Sueonum, fausto numine duret opus. Limites positian.* 1617."

Gustavus next turned his whole attention to the task of putting the Swedish constitution upon a more definite basis, as his father had begun to do. In order that his subjects in all parts of the kingdom might have the opportunity of defending their rights, he established parliaments, or high courts, at Stockholm and Abo; provided for the annual summoning of the diet, and left the four orders into which it was divided to consider and decide for themselves, in separate assemblies, upon questions in which their respective estates were specially interested. He divided the nobility into three classes, consisting of counts, barons, or highest nobles, of the descendants of councilors of state, and men of noble descent without hereditary titles and lands; and ordered that they should meet in a house of lords or "knights' house," *Riddarhus,* on whose books all entitled to a seat were to inscribe their names. He confirmed the noble orders in many of their privileges and immunities, but rendered such confirmation conditional upon the assured performance of services to the state. Moreover, the elevation of the second and third classes to noble rank brought to the crown the interested support of many influential persons, who might otherwise have remained politically indifferent. Civil and military services were put upon a permanent basis, and the two kinds of power definitely separated. To facilitate the civil administration, it was divided among five courts or colleges of state. The judiciary was amplified and completed by a supreme court of appeal, the *göta hofrätt,* which sat at Jonköping. In the great centralization of authority, resulting both from these reforms and from the dominant personality of the king, local rights and government were not forgotten. But with the reduction of the nobility to a position of service, these also had to be put on a new footing. The kingdom was divided into *län,* or districts, each presided over by a bailiff or mayor; and each town by a chief magistrate. The president of these magistrates, when assembled for consultation, was the *overstäthallar* of Stockholm. First of all, however, Gustavus was a warrior. By a carefully devised system of conscription, which the old-time juries of the hundreds were left to carry out, the army and navy were much augmented, and were put under the strictest discipline in Europe. At the close of the Thirty Years' War 100,000 men, of whom, however, one-half were mercenaries, stood under Swedish colors.

Gymnasiums, academies, and schools sprang up in every part

of the kingdom. The Upsala University was enriched with valuable mines and lands, formerly part of the king's personal domain. Several new trading ports, for example, the present Göteborg, were established. In 1624 William Usselinx, under Gustavus's patronage, founded the "South Company of Sweden," which, in 1638, erected Fort Christina, on the Delaware River, in America. New Sweden lasted but seventeen years, falling in 1655 to the Dutch, but the far-reaching character of Gustavus's enterprise is indicated. Gustavus had, moreover, the ability or the good fortune to secure the friendship and devotion of talented men in every department of the state, and at the moment when he set forth, in 1629, on his fatal but glorious campaign in Germany, his court was celebrated throughout Europe for the number of able military leaders and statesmen who surrounded the person of the king.

After an interval of peace war broke out again in 1621 between Sweden and Poland, owing to the obstinacy with which Sigismund maintained his pretensions to the Swedish crown. Gustavus, personally conducting the war, began by conquering Livonia and Karelia and the capture of Riga. He next advanced into Polish Prussia and gave battle at Egnen, on the Vistula, to Sigismund's troops and an army of imperialists. For it must be remembered that both the emperor, Ferdinand II., and the king of Spain, Philip III., were Sigismund's brothers-in-law. Egnen was but the first of a series of brilliant victories which made Gustavus's fame as a general European. The emperor now began to awake to the possible effect of Swedish victory upon the religious struggle which had already begun in Germany, and to see in Gustavus's army a formidable menace to the supremacy of the Catholic party. A large imperial army was thrown into Poland, and Gustavus found himself involved in a new and greater war at a time when he was especially anxious for peace.

In this fourth and last of his Polish campaigns, Gustavus was often in great personal danger. Once he saved his life only by leaving his hat and scabbard in the hands of the foes who had surrounded him, in writing an account of which to his friend and chancellor, Oxenstierna, Gustavus remarked that he had "never been in a hotter bath." Once a ball carried off the sole of his right boot. On another occasion a shot struck him in the stomach. He had his horse shot from under him repeatedly and was forced to

crawl out from among the dead and dying and fight on foot till another steed could be brought for him. After the battle of Stuhm, a truce for six years was signed at Altmark in 1629 between Sweden and Poland, which left Livonia and parts of Polish Prussia in the hands of Gustavus.

Gustavus now found himself free to furnish the aid which he had long promised to his Protestant allies in Germany. A general European war seemed impending. All the other European powers which had adopted the doctrines of the Reformation were aligning themselves with the Protestant princes of the empire, while the Catholic states, excepting France, whose attitude was determined by special considerations, were casting in their lot with the emperor. Christian IV. of Denmark had helped the German Protestants to the best of his ability, but had been forced, when the imperialists, under Wallenstein, entered Slesvig and seized upon Jutland, to accept whatever terms of peace he could obtain. Gustavus's envoys having been refused admission to the negotiations between Christian and Wallenstein at Lübeck, the Swedish monarch now deemed war inevitable with the emperor, whose enmity he had incurred by opening his kingdom as an asylum to all persecuted Protestants, and by receiving at his court his own outlawed kinsmen, the dukes of Mecklenburg. Another factor in the case was the jealousy of Wallenstein, who at this moment rivaled Gustavus in European prominence. At the moment of opening hostilities Wallenstein contributed 35,000 rix dollars toward fomenting sedition in Sweden. The great general of the imperialists was also eager to make himself master of Stralsund, which controlled the passage to the Baltic; he declared that he would never rest till that place was in his hands, "even though it were bound to heaven with chains of iron." Gustavus, on the other hand, appreciated that if Stralsund were once in the hands of the imperialists, his European career would be closed forever, as would also that of his kingdom, and his plans to help the Protestants of Germany would, of course, be rendered futile.

Gustavus called together his diet at Stockholm on May 19, 1630, and laid before them an account of the oppression and misery to which their brethren in religion were reduced, and the dangers which threatened Sweden unless the advance of Catholic power could be checked. He then bade the assembled orders farewell and dramatically raising his daughter, Christina, a child of five

years of age, in his arms, he commended her to their care and fidelity as the heiress to his crown. Each of the estates assured their monarch of their devotion. Thereupon intrusting the government of Sweden to a council of ten, and appointing his brother-in-law, the outlawed Count Palatine, John Casimir, director-in-chief of all affairs connected with the levying of troops and other preparations for war, Gustavus embarked with his army, landing in Germany on midsummer-day, in 1630.

He had with him only 15,000 men, but with this small army, trusting in his watchword, "*Cum Deo et victricibus armis*," he entered boldly upon the course he had elected. At first circumstances aided him, for the overreaching ambition of Wallenstein had brought that remarkable man into disfavor with the emperor, while Cardinal Richelieu, alarmed at the rapidly rising power of the house of Hapsburg, had guaranteed by the Treaty of Barwälde that as long as the Swedish king should keep an army of 30,000 men on foot against the imperialists, he should receive an annual subsidy from France of 400,000 rix dollars. Some of the lesser German princes also entered into immediate alliance with Gustavus. On the other hand, the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, standing in awe of the emperor, held aloof, and by the obstacles which they interposed to the advance of the Swedish forces prevented the relief of Magdeburg, which consequently, after a long and heroic defense, was compelled to submit to the forces of the Catholic League, and was forthwith given over to a ruthless soldiery and reduced to a heap of ruins. This terrible disaster served to bring the Elector of Saxony to Gustavus's side. In 1631 Breitenfeld was fought and won near Leipzig by the allied Swedish and Saxon forces. Tilly, till then undefeated, was compelled, despite his superior numbers, to fall back upon the Bavarian frontier near the Lech. Here, the following spring, he was again attacked by the Swedes and again defeated in a long and stubborn contest, in the course of which he himself was mortally wounded. The emperor now reluctantly resolved to recall the indispensable Wallenstein, who had presently enlisted to his standard every vagabond and soldier of fortune in Europe. The rawness of his recruits, however, forbade his offering battle; as, on the other side, did the meagerness of Gustavus's forces. For nine weeks the two armies lay encamped within sight of each other, outside the gates of Nürnberg, which Wallenstein had threatened and Gustavus had has-

tened to protect. At length, having failed in an assault on Wallenstein's well-defended camp, and unable to bring his wary foe into the open field, Gustavus withdrew to recruit his own sick and hungering army, while the imperialist commander, quickly breaking up camp, threw his forces into the rich lands of Saxony, where they laid waste everything before them, and the elector in his distress had again to call upon the Swedes for assistance.

Gustavus was at Neuburg, in Bavaria, with his queen when the news of Wallenstein's advance upon Saxony reached him. He at once resolved to force his antagonist to meet him in the open field. Ordering all his troops to advance by forced marches to Erfurt, he joined them there on October 28, 1632, and rapidly made his final arrangements. On the morning of November 1, after having passed the night in reading and answering dispatches, and in sending instructions to the council of Sweden, he took leave of his wife, whom he commended to the care of the Erfurt citizens, and set out in pursuit of his army, which had crossed the Saale on October 30. Wallenstein, not believing that the king would venture a battle with his small force, aggregating but 12,000 infantry and 6500 horsemen, had gone into winter quarters at Lützen, after sending his general, Pappenheim, to Halle, to watch the movements of the Swedes. The surprise of the imperialists was great, therefore, when they found that the Swedish king had brought his army from their quarters near Nürnberg to the plain of Lützen, and that, moreover, in an incredibly short time, although the autumn rains and the character of the ground seemed to make the passage of both men and horses almost an impossibility. The greatest confusion prevailed in the imperial camp. Orderlies were riding in all directions to recall scattered generals and brigades. Soldiers were kept at work throughout the night, throwing up entrenchments along the main road between Lützen and Leipzig, on the north side of which Wallenstein had drawn up his men in order of battle. When Gustavus was informed by spies that the Germans were quite unprepared for his attack, he exclaimed, "Now I truly believe that the Lord has given my enemies into my hands," and determined not to delay the assault. His anger against the imperialists had been greatly aggravated during his march by the sight of the devastation and misery which they had brought upon the country people. Wherever he passed, ragged, half-famished creatures had crawled forth from their ruined huts or from the

poor shelter of the leafless woods, and throwing themselves on their knees, had extended their hands to him in supplication. These spectacles had moved the humane monarch profoundly. "These people," said he, "worship me as a God; I trust I may not be punished for their idolatry."

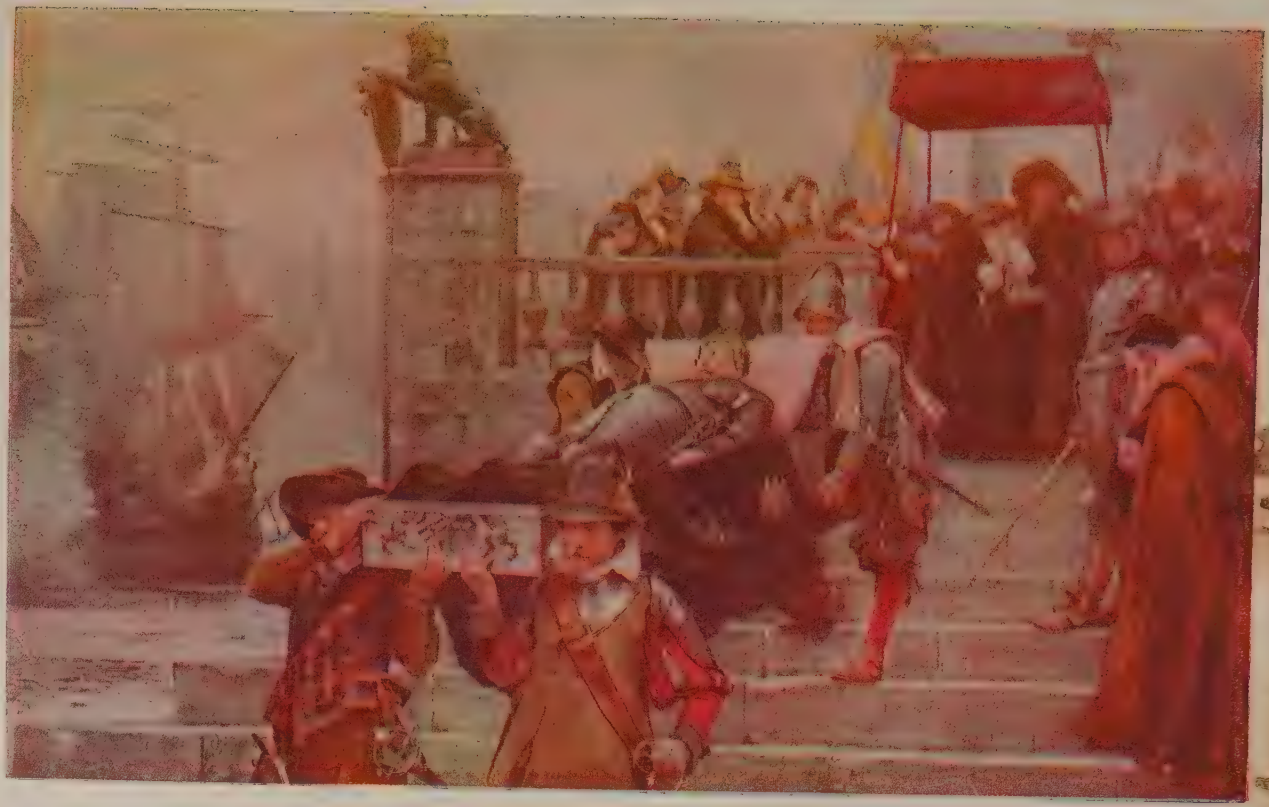
The morning of November 6, 1632, dawned in so thick a mist that the two opposing armies could scarcely see beyond their respective vanguards, though these were so near that, in reconnoitering, they found themselves face to face. At an early hour, the Swedish army, which was composed of many Scotch as well as German auxiliaries, engaged in prayer and sang Luther's hymn, "*Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott,*" after which Gustavus himself, in a loud voice, gave out his favorite hymn, "*Jesus Christ unser Heiland.*" Clad in his usual overcoat and without armor, which he had almost entirely discarded for himself and his soldiers, he mounted his horse, and, riding along the lines, addressed his Swedes and Finns in their native tongue, telling them that the enemy, who had so long evaded them, was now within their reach and exhorting them to fight for their God, their country, and their king. "If you fight as I expect of you," he said in conclusion, "you shall have no cause to complain of your reward, but if you do not strike like men, not a bone in your bodies will ever find its way back to Sweden." To the Germans he spoke strongly and earnestly, calling upon them to follow him bravely, to "trust in God, and to believe that with His help they might that day gain a victory, which should profit them and their remotest descendants." "But if you fail me to-day," he added, "your religion, your freedom, your welfare in this world and the next are lost." Wallenstein, on the other hand, maintained a characteristic silence in the presence of his forces.

Gustavus had expected to be reinforced by Duke George of Lüneburg and the Elector of Saxony, who had both made great protestations of gratitude and devotion, and promised to bring their troops to his aid, but neither of them put in an appearance.

The king, who himself commanded the right wing of his army, was foremost of all to advance upon the enemy. Waving his drawn sword above his head as the Swedes and Finns responded with the clash of arms and loud cheers to his address, he cried out, "Jesus, Jesus, let us fight this day for Thy holy name," and giving the word of command, he advanced, while the whole army, as each

regiment began to move, caught up the Swedish watchword, "God with us." The enemy awaited the attack on the farther side of the road, skirted by deep ditches, and here the Swedish infantry were met with such overwhelming numbers that they wavered and fell back. On perceiving this, Gustavus, who had led his own division over the road, hastened at the head of a troop of his Smaaland cavalry to the help of the infantry. Before he could reach the road, however, the three brigades under Count Niels Brahe, which formed the Swedish center, had advanced to the charge and had taken three batteries by storm, and had broken two of the enemy's squares. The king now charged at the head of his cavalry and was soon in the midst of the enemy, with only a few of his personal attendants near him, since the heavy mist, after partially clearing, had become so dense that his troop had not been able to see in which direction he had advanced. At that moment a pistol shot struck Gustavus's horse in the neck, a second shattered his left arm, and, while he was turning to beg the Duke of Lauenburg to help him from the field, as he was also wounded in the foot and unable to dismount, a ball entered his back and he fell from his horse, which, however, dragged him a short distance with one foot still in the stirrup.

Dismay spread through the ranks of the Swedes when they saw the king's horse, with empty saddle and bleeding mane, galloping wildly along the road; but soon their terror changed to fury. Demanding eagerly of Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar to be led again to the assault, they bore down upon the enemy, and after a fierce struggle, which was prolonged till nightfall, achieved a brilliant victory, remaining masters of the field and capturing all of Wallenstein's artillery and ammunition. The close of the battle had been the fiercest, for at the moment when Duke Bernhard thought that the day was won, Pappenheim appeared on the field, and with fresh troops renewed the attack upon the wearied Swedes. But even that unexpected repulse could not long retard the latter's victory, although it thinned the Swedish ranks fearfully and left line upon line of their troops lying dead upon the ground in the order of array. The battle of Lützen was won against double the victor's forces. At its close 12,000 dead or wounded men lay upon the field, among the former the monarch of Sweden. The body of the dead king was carried to the rear the same night, and deposited in the church of the little village of Meuchen, where one



of the attendant Swedish officers made a funeral address and the schoolmaster of the place read the prayer.

Next morning it was borne in a rough deal coffin to Weissenfels, and thence, after embalming, to the castle church of Wittenburg, where for a time it rested, being finally conveyed to Sweden under the guard of the 400 survivors of the Smaaland cavalry at whose head the king had fallen. In the summer of 1634 the remains were laid with great solemnity within the grave that Gustavus had caused to be prepared for himself in Riddarholm church. The day after the battle a heavy stone, known to the present day as the Schwedenstein, was dragged by some peasants, under the direction of the king's groom, Jacob Eriksson, from a neighboring height to mark the place where Gustavus fell; but, unable to move it further, they left it within forty paces of the exact spot beside the bank of a field, where it remained till it was replaced, in 1832, by the monument erected by the German people in grateful remembrance of their champion.

Although the imperialists experienced a most decisive defeat at Lützen, the joy of the Catholics on learning that their most dreaded foe was no more fully equaled the sorrow and apprehension which the news of Gustavus's death spread through every Protestant country. In Gustavus the Swedes lost the noblest and greatest of their kings, and the world at large one of the bravest and most unselfish rulers that ever filled a throne. "Exalted by feelings of the most devoted piety, his soul was that of an apostle, and it is not only calumny, but a grave historical error to mistrust the sincerity of his declarations. In his eyes the victory of the Hapsburgs meant not only calamity for the world, but an outrage upon God himself, and in God's quarrel he armed, ready to perish for his faith, but certain that the Eternal covered him with His right hand."[1] In person, Gustavus Adolphus recalled the type of man that the Northmen associated with the image of the bravest and strongest of their early national heroes. He was tall and well made; of fresh ruddy hue, fair skin, and clear blue eyes, and with light yellow hair, ample beard and bushy mustache, which gained for him among foreigners the name of the "Gold-king of the North." He had a longish face, with a grave, earnest expression, and there was a natural grace and dignity in his bearing and in all his movements, which increased the charm and attractiveness of his person and manner.

[1] Lavisse and Rambaud, vol. V. p. 547.

Although many great plans which Gustavus had formed for the benefit of his coreligionists perished with him, the fame of Sweden was well maintained for some time after his death by his generals and by his devoted friend and minister, Oxenstierna, one of the greatest personages of Swedish history, who induced the Protestant princes of south Germany to enter into an alliance with Sweden in 1633, and continued the alliance with France. At the same time, Oxenstierna, in concert with four other great officers of state, conducted the regency during the minority of Gustavus's only child, Christina, following in all respects the directions laid down by the king himself before he left Sweden.

The death of Gustavus, nevertheless, had its effect upon the fortune of Swedish arms in Germany, and when, in 1634, the brave but overhasty Gustaf Horn, in consequence of jealousy on the part of Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, nearly brought an inglorious defeat upon the Swedes at Nordlingen, where he was made captive, the north German princes began to withdraw from their alliance with Sweden, and before another year the majority had followed the example set by the Elector of Saxony and made a humiliating peace with the emperor.

They seemed even to aim at expelling the Swedes from Germany; and although Richelieu sent an army over the frontier to coöperate with the Swedish forces, he was an untrustworthy ally at best. Thus after inducing Duke Bernhard to enter the service of France, the cardinal-minister, on the death of that nobleman, suddenly in 1639, incorporated his troops in the French army and employed them to conquer Alsace for France. Gustavus had, however, left other able commanders, who gloriously maintained his reputation. The disaster at Nordlingen was soon effaced by the victory of Johan Banner at Wittstock, in Brandenburg. Not content with this signal success, Banner pushed his way to the very heart of Germany, threatened Vienna, and surprised Ratisbon, where he would have captured the emperor and the members of the diet, then holding its sittings, had not a sudden thaw come on and prevented the passage of the Danube. At that period the Swedes were the only troops who ventured upon a winter campaign, and Banner's German auxiliaries, unaccustomed to the hardships imposed upon them, soon deserted him, while his ally, the Duke of Weimar, left him almost encircled by enemies. Even under these desperate circumstances, he succeeded in safely accom-

plishing a retreat to Halberstadt which is regarded as one of the most masterly in military history, though it cost Banner his life. Torstensson, upon whom, because of his skillful and rapid maneuvers, was bestowed the name, "the Swedish Lightning," succeeded to the command.

In the campaign of 1642 the Swedes, under this commander, advanced upon Vienna, defied the armies of the emperor in his own states, and concluded the campaign with a brilliant victory at Breitenfeld over the Archduke Leopold and the great Piccolomini, and the capture of Leipzig from the imperialists. While completing arrangements for penetrating still further into southern Germany, Torstensson was recalled to Sweden by secret orders from the council of state.

The cause of this sudden recall was the anxiety felt by the Swedish regents at the turn which affairs were taking in Denmark, whose king, Christian IV., it was evident was preparing to make war upon Sweden. To frustrate his designs, Torstensson left Moravia, and in an incredibly short time crossed the frontier and threw his troops into the Holstein lands, on pretense of requiring food and quarters for them. At the same time Gustaf Horn led an army into Skaania. Thus forestalled at all points, the Danes were forced to meet the Swedes as successful invaders, instead of carrying the war into Sweden, as they had intended. By the peace, signed at Brömsebro in Bleking, in 1645, the islands of Gothland and Oesel and other Danish territories were handed over to Sweden in pledge of peace, for thirty years, after which they might be redeemed by Denmark. At the same time the Swedes secured complete exemption from all the long-established tolls in the Sound, and obtained a great diminution in these charges for their allies, the Dutch. After the Danish war Torstensson made a fourth successful campaign into the hereditary lands of the emperor, and inflicted upon the imperialists at Jaukowitz the worst defeat they had sustained during the war. This battle, which raged with great fury during the whole of an intensely cold and stormy day in February, 1645, cost the emperor the lives of 4000 of his best troops, and left in the hands of the victorious Swedes 4000 wounded, including the chief commander, Field Marshal Hatzfeld, and five generals, with twenty-six field pieces and seventy-seven standards. Torstensson again penetrated into Austria and again brought his troops within sight of the walls of Vienna.

At this very moment, however, when everything seemed to be favoring the great Swedish commander, he was forced to retreat, for France had failed to send the reinforcements which alone could enable the Swedes to hold their own in the midst of the enemy's land. Torstensson was, in consequence, forced to fall back upon Bohemia. There, because of increased feebleness and suffering, he resigned the command, which was at once intrusted to the already renowned Karl Gustaf Wrangel.

In 1648 the Treaty of Westphalia brought the Thirty Years' War to a close. Sweden received Western Pomerania with Rygen, the Island of Wollin, the mouths of the Oder, Stettin, the bishopric of Verden, the archbishopric of Bremen, and Wismar in Mecklenburg; also an indemnity of five millions of rix dollars. The territory gained, however, did not cease being a part of the empire, and the indemnity was never paid. Sweden emerged from the struggle, therefore, rich in military renown, but poorly remunerated for her sacrifices of the last eighteen years. It is impossible, moreover, to look upon Sweden's participation in the last period of the war in the same light as upon Gustavus Adolphus's part. Then Sweden, under a leader of most exalted piety, was fighting the battles of Protestantism, perhaps mistakenly, yet nobly. Subsequently the Swedish government is too apparently the pensioner of France in the latter's war against the house of Austria.

Chapter XV

DENMARK IN ECLIPSE. 1513-1648

DESPITE the odium of the blood bath Christian II. of Denmark was a wise and benevolent ruler, who carefully scrutinized every detail of civil life, and in other ways displayed great capacity and enlightenment. He not only caused several highly beneficial laws to be passed in favor of the trading and working classes of the country, but he showed himself at all times anxious to diffuse education among the very meanest of his subjects, and was, in fact, the first king in northern Europe to open poor-schools in his dominions. In his earnest desire to promote the education of his people he even went so far as to order the burghers of Copenhagen and all other large cities in the three Scandinavian kingdoms, under penalties of heavy money fines, to compel their children to learn to read, write, and cipher; and to see that when they grew older they were instructed in some trade or other. He also caused better books to be prepared and printed for the public schools, while he ordered that the children who were intended for the learned professions should not be boarded with untutored folk, lest in their earlier years they might be taught vicious practices which they could never again forget. He made the first attempt at establishing a post throughout the country by recruiting a band of post runners, who both winter and summer passed between Copenhagen and the chief towns, carrying letters, for which they were paid on the basis of mileage. He also caused wayside inns to be erected at certain distances along the roads, and ordered that if travelers received damage on account of the imperfections of the public roads, the parishes in which the defective highways lay should be compelled to make reparation. He forbade the nobles and higher clergy their ancient "strand right," *viz.*, the alleged right to seize, as they had hitherto done, upon wrecks; and when the bishops of Jutland, who drew good incomes from this practice, laid complaints before him of their heavy losses,

saying there was "nothing in the Bible against taking stranded goods," his only answer was, "Let the lord prelates go back and learn the eighth commandment by heart." Likewise when the clergy begged that for the good of the church he should allow witches and wizards to be burned as in the olden times, and not be let off with a mere whipping as he had decreed, he asked them if they had ever read the sixth commandment?

Christian created the Danish navy, wherewith he put down pirates on the Baltic and made the Hansers of Lübeck respect his authority. At the same time he restricted the commercial privileges of the Hansers and extended those of his own subjects. He endeavored to make Copenhagen the center of the Baltic trade and encouraged Dutch banking houses to come thither. He caused equal weights and measures to be used in all towns. The growth of flowers and vegetables he made his chief diversion, and, to teach the Danes how to manage gardens and orchards, he sent by the advice of his queen, Isabella, sister of Emperor Charles V., for Flemish gardeners, who were then the best in Europe. These men came to Denmark in 1516 and settled in Amager, a small island in the harbor of Copenhagen, which they soon transformed into a paradise, and where from that time forth they and their descendants lived. The Amager peasants still enjoy the rights that Christian gave them, and even to the present day they retain the dress and habits of the Flemish homes of their forefathers, brightening up the old market-place of Copenhagen with their quaint, highly colored costumes, and supplying the citizens with the finest fruits, flowers, and vegetables that can be raised in the long cold winters and short hot summers of Danish Sjaelland. Most important of all, however, were Christian's measures looking to the mitigation and gradual abolition of serfdom. Serfs were made no longer transferable with the soil; they might even elect to leave the service of a lord whose treatment of them they could show to have been unjust. These were first steps in the restoration of a free peasantry to Denmark.

Christian's attention was early drawn to the Reformation movement. At his request his uncle, Frederick the Wise of Saxony, in 1520 sent to Copenhagen a learned doctor named Martin Reinhard, to preach the Gospel and expound Lutheran doctrines. As, however, the new preacher could not speak Danish, his sermons had to be translated from the German before they could be under-

stood. The effect was not happy; the preacher's gestures, taken in conjunction with what sounded to his hearers like nonsensical jargon, were grotesque and ridiculous. Indeed, the canons of a certain chapter caricatured the performance by dressing up a child and setting him to imitate the Lutheran theologian. King Christian wrote again to his uncle, begging for another preacher, and asking whether Luther himself would not come to Denmark and settle a new Reformed Church for him. But the great Reformer had other things to do, though the famous Carlstadt visited Copenhagen for a short period.

But at this moment Christian's interest in the new faith seemed to lag, for he had learned that a Papal nuncio was coming to inquire into the justice of the sentences upon which certain Swedish nobles had been put to death at Stockholm. He even recoiled to the extent of writing to the Pope to promise that he would punish all heretics infesting his kingdom. Indeed he seemed ready to pledge himself to almost any measure, if thereby he might ward off the anger of Rome, and in this object he succeeded. Yet the tide of Lutheranism continued to rise, nor did Christian make any genuine effort to stem it except to frame an ambitious program of clerical reform: clerical non-residence was to be prohibited, monasteries to be purged, the holding of private property by unmarried clerks to be forbidden, a modest carriage to be enjoined upon churchmen; but most important of all, appeals to the Pope were to be abolished. The scheme had not yet been embodied in law when Christian was deposed.

The nobility reposed no confidence in Christian II., who invariably took his advisers from the humbler ranks of society. Especially did they resent the influence of Sigbrit, the mother of the king's beautiful mistress, Dyveke. They rightly felt that as long as she and her kindred, with their Dutch notions of freedom and equal rights for all classes, maintained their ascendency over the king, the special privileges of the nobility were in constant jeopardy.

One day in April, of the year 1523, Christian found, in a glove which he was about to draw on, a crumpled paper, in which his nobles declared their purpose to call in his uncle, Duke Frederick of Holstein, to be king. Christian's courage failed him at the very moment when he stood in greatest need of energetic and audacious action, and, although the city of Copenhagen, together with the

peasants and burghers in all parts of Denmark and even of Norway, were in his favor, he fled in precipitation, setting sail with his family and all his belongings for Holland, where he remained for some years, and where three years later his queen died among her own people. Christian lost his throne for want "of a petty and momentary energy." Had he but remained among his subjects it is scarcely doubtful that he might have put down the rebellion, for even among the Danish nobles he had devoted friends, and for many years his able commanders, Henrik Gjö, Sören Norby, and others made a brave and capable stand for him. In Norway, too, where Christian himself landed, in 1531, with an army of Dutch and German mercenaries, he was hailed with joy. At that very moment, however, his uncle, Frederick, made a treaty with Sweden and Lübeck, both of which powers dreaded Christian's return to Denmark. By their joint forces the unhappy king's troops were defeated, and at last, in 1532, on a promise of safety, he gave himself up to his uncle's commander, Knud Gyldensjerne, who, however, instead of setting him at liberty, as he had promised, carried him to the castle of Sonderborg on the Island Als, and had him confined in a dark dungeon beneath the tower. In this wretched prison, to which light and air could penetrate only through a small grated window, that served at the same time for the passage of the scanty food given to him, Christian spent seventeen years of his life, with a half-witted Norwegian dwarf for his sole companion. On the death of Frederick I. his son, Christian III., showed a wish to release the unhappy captive, on condition of his pledging himself to retire to Germany. But the Danish nobles were still too much in dread of Christian II. to suffer him to be set at liberty Thereupon the compassionate king had his royal prisoner removed to Kallundborg castle, where he was permitted to pass the last ten years of his life in comparative comfort, and where he died in 1559, within a few months of his cousin and namesake, Christian III.

Frederick's situation was not an easy one. In 1529 Christian II. had become formally reconciled with Rome, and was recognized by both Pope and emperor as the rightful sovereign of Denmark. Even Christian's imprisonment, three years afterward, did not place Frederick's crown beyond peril. Everything emphasized his dependence upon the nobility, the prelates, and Norway. To these, then, constant concession had to be made. Norway was made a

free elective monarchy. The Reformed preachers were expelled from the towns, and were forbidden to preach the doctrines of Luther, or even to read the Bible to the people. The appointment of any but bishops of noble birth was prohibited. Christian II.'s poor-schools were closed; newly printed books of the vernacular were burned; the old restrictions of serfdom were reimposed, as extensively as possible. It was proclaimed abroad by the nobility with the royal sanction "to be contrary to morality" to attempt to elevate those "whom God meant to be slaves."

The least successful item of Frederick's policy of reaction was his attempt at first to check the Reformation. Evidences of the new enthusiasm abounded everywhere. Hermann Tast, a learned priest of Husum in Jutland, stood forth in the year 1520 in the market place of that town and expounded many passages of Scripture to the people in accordance with the new teaching of the German Reformers. A few years later another priest, Hans Tausen, aptly called the "Danish Luther," preached at Viborg with such force against the Church of Rome that the Danish clergy took alarm, and tried by all means in their power to silence this learned and dangerous man, but each time that he was imprisoned by his bishop the people flew to arms and clamored till they secured his freedom. At Malmo, Klaus Mortensen, a cooper, preached in the open air until the people placed one of the churches at his disposal. At length, in 1530, the burghers in Copenhagen and the other large Danish towns began in their turn seriously to ill-treat the monks and to destroy the images and ornaments of the churches, until soldiers were sent to repress the riots. In the meantime, in 1524, a translation of the New Testament into Danish had been published at Antwerp by Hans Mikkelsen, a learned man who had left his all to follow Christian II., and in 1529 a second and better version was given to the Danes by their countryman, Kristen Pedersen, the "Father of Danish Literature," who also translated the Psalms into Danish. In vain did the Roman clergy call synods to decide what was to be done to extirpate these doctrines. In vain, too, did they appeal to Frederick, who was now involved in a quarrel with Pope Clement VII. about the filling of the archbishopric of Lund. At last, in August, 1526, the king took matters into his own hands and confirmed the choice which the chapter of Lund had made, in accordance with a Papal bull of 1350. Henceforth, no Danish bishops sought Papal confirmation. A year later, in answer

to the clergy's protest against the impunity of Lutheran preachers, Frederick declared that faith is free and that each man must follow his conscience. The Danish church was free of Rome; that it would soon be Lutheran, was certain.

In 1533 Frederick I. died, and for three years the "Count's Feud," or war waged by Count Christopher of Oldenburg in the interest of the captive Christian II., distracted Denmark. Christopher found allies in the burghers of Copenhagen, Malmo, and Lübeck. At the same time the nobility and clergy were divided on the question of the succession. The former championed the cause of Christian III., Frederick's eldest son, and Duke of Slesvig-Holstein; the latter desired to see the younger prince, Hans, on the throne, since, being a mere boy, he might yet be won over to the ancient faith, while Christian had already shown himself by his policy in Slesvig-Holstein to be a vigorous and enthusiastic Lutheran. The war was determined by Gustaf Vasa's alliance with the Danish estates. While Gustaf was whipping the Lübeckers, Prince Christian's commander, Johan Rantzau, was disposing of Count Christopher. August 6, 1536, Christian III., having been already proclaimed in the islands, entered Copenhagen in triumph.

The clergy were not mistaken in foreboding that with Christian III.'s accession their day had come. The new monarch's first act was to summon the council of state, and to engage the members of that body to support him in the execution of the plans which he laid before them for extinguishing the Roman Church in Denmark. On one and the same day all bishops were placed under arrest, and those who refused to pledge themselves not to oppose the king's programme were put in confinement. In the autumn of 1536 a Great Thing, or general diet, called at Copenhagen proclaimed the Lutheran faith to be the established belief of Denmark. The Roman Catholic bishops were deprived of their rank, titles, and share in the government. All the possessions of the church were forfeited to the crown. The Lutheran clergy, who were placed at the head of the new church, were known at first as "overseers." Only afterward did they regain the title of "bishop." Every parish was allowed to choose its own pastor, or vicar; the vicars were left to choose their provost; and the provosts in their turn were free to make choice of their own overseer. The king, however, was not the only one to profit by the revolution. The nobles gained a

great increase of wealth and influence in the land, for on one pretense or other they obtained a large number of the estates which had been held by the church, while at the same time they repressed the clergy and by degrees came to treat them as persons much inferior to themselves in rank. Christian's attempts to have the wealth of the Roman Church used to endow schools for the clergy and poorer laity counted for little. A few Latin schools, however, were opened for poor scholars, and the University of Copenhagen now first acquired honor and credit on account of the learning of its teachers.

The Danish Reformation destroyed the clerical order, but it did not diminish the ascendency of the nobles. Neither did it bring religious toleration. Very soon the Lutherans were proving themselves to be quite as harsh to all who differed from them in faith as the Catholics had been. Whenever a Calvinist or other Reformed teacher, who did not belong to the church of Luther, came to Denmark and began to preach, he was harried out of the land without mercy, as if he were a malefactor, instead of a minister of Christ.

When Christian III. died, on New Year's Day, 1559, Denmark was in a more settled state as to religious, foreign, and home affairs of the nation than it had been for many years. In every parish in the country the doctrines of Luther were preached from the pulpits, and all men and women, from the highest to the lowest, were permitted to read their Bibles in their own tongue. The convents and monasteries were indeed still held by the nuns and monks, who had not been willing to leave them, for King Christian had shown a tender regard to the feelings of those who desired to end their days within the walls of the cloisters, in which they had taken their vows, before the establishment of the Lutheran religion. But by degrees one convent after the other was closed, and Denmark, like Sweden and Norway, became thoroughly Protestantized.

Great progress had been made in learning during Christian's reign. The laws had been revised with much care, a common system of weights and measures had been brought into use in Norway and Denmark, the same form of money had been made legal for both countries, and a more equitable standard had been fixed upon for the amount of silver to be put into the coinage. Trade had begun to flourish, and the Danes now went in their own ships to buy the wares in foreign ports, which for a long time had been

brought to them by the German traders of Hamburg and Lübeck. The Reformation was a more popular movement in Denmark than in Sweden. In Norway, where it was simply a part of the policy by which the control of an alien monarchy was fastened upon the country, it was generally opposed by the people. However, with the defeat of Christian II.'s cause in 1532 and the death of the Norwegian primate, Olaf Engelbrechtsson, Archbishop of Drontheim, in 1538, the policy of Frederick I. of Denmark and Christian III. triumphed. The kingdom of Norway was declared "no longer a separate kingdom, but a dependency of Denmark." Of course, the Norwegian church was remodeled after the Danish fashion, but the blood of the peasantry was freely spilled in the consummation of the work.

Frederick II., Christian III.'s son and successor, began his reign by an incursion into the lands of the Ditmarshers, partly because these folk were refusing, as usual, to pay certain taxes alleged to be due the Holstein princes, and partly because he was anxious to wipe out the disgrace which the Danes had suffered under his great-uncle, King Hans, and his grandfather, Frederick I., when they had attacked the Marshmen in the year 1500.

The Danish and Holstein armies, amounting to 20,000 men, were under the command of the old Count Johan Rantzau. By his skill and activity, notwithstanding the desperate manner in which the Marshmen and even their wives and daughters resisted the advance of the invaders, the campaign was brought to a close in less than a month by their complete subjection. Having received the homage of 4000 Ditmarshers at Heide, the young Danish king returned in triumph to Copenhagen in 1560.

His initial success made Frederick confident in the strength of his own power and prowess. Without heed to the consequences, therefore, he continued to bear the three northern crowns in the national standard of Denmark. As we have already seen, this piece of vainglory brought him into controversy with Erik XIV., who, with equal presumption and with no pretense of right whatever, was doing precisely the same thing. How disastrous the Scandinavian Seven Years' War was to both parties, we have already mentioned. The Swedes, however, suffered less than the Danes, for Gustaf Vasa had left his kingdom in so prosperous a state that they did not feel the burdens of war as much as the people of Denmark, where the king's power was entirely crippled by an

avaricious and unpatriotic nobility. Nevertheless, the peace which was concluded between the two countries at Stettin, in 1570, was on the whole very favorable to Denmark. In return for giving up her pretensions to Sweden, which could never have been established, she secured her own rights over Norway and recovered Skaania, Halland, and Bleking.

The remainder of Frederick's reign was prosperous, thanks to his able minister, Peder Oxe, who restored order to the finances, encouraged learning and trade, did what he could to break the monopolies that the king at the outset of his reign had granted to the nobility, and improved the condition of the peasantry. To Frederick his countrymen are indebted for the introduction of many fruits, vegetables, and flowers, hitherto unknown in Denmark, and also for the copious stocking of many lakes and streams with carp and other fish. The king's religious intolerance, alone, stood in the way of the benevolent policy which his great minister outlined for him, and which Frederick was generally content to follow. Especially was he opposed to the doctrines of Calvin, whose adherents were persecuted with the greatest severity, through the influence of the Lutheran divine, Jacob Andreae, professor at Tübingen, and a protégé of Frederick's brother-in-law, the Elector August of Saxony. At Andreae's suggestion twenty-five articles of belief were drawn up, to which everyone who wished to reside in Danish territory was compelled to give his adhesion. Persecution prevailed in every part of the Danish realm, falling with almost equal severity on clergy and laity. Among the former, the most distinguished victim of the king's bigotry was Niels Hemmingen, the friend and pupil of Melanchthon, who held the chair of theology in the University of Copenhagen, but was deprived of his office and interdicted from teaching, on account of a bias for the Genevan's doctrines. The pastor, Niels Mikkelsen, was even more severely treated, being ordered to leave the kingdom on account of having preached what was condemned as "the damnable heresy that by God's grace even heathens might be saved." Another pastor, Ivar Barthelsen, deemed himself fortunate in having the sentence of death, which had been passed upon him, commuted to a long imprisonment, on account of his having omitted to read the words of the renunciation of the devil, which formed part of the baptismal service.

In this state of things it would seem there could scarcely have

been any great progress in learning, which was, moreover, much fettered by severe laws against liberty of the press. Nevertheless, during Frederick's reign, numerous public institutions were established in various quarters of the kingdom, the schools of Söro and Skovskloster were opened, and learned men were patronized, provided they were orthodox Lutherans. One of the most distinguished of these was Anders Sörensen Vedel, to whom Frederick committed the labor of composing a new history of Denmark. Though Vedel never completed his task, in setting about it he translated the Latin history of Denmark of Saxo Grammaticus, and collected all the ancient ballads and songs which, under the name of kaempeviser, were still current in Denmark. To this period, also, belongs Tycho Brahe, the great astronomer, who had early in life secured the respect and admiration of the learned men of his times by his writings on the "New Star," [1] which had suddenly appeared in the heavens in 1572, and then, after continuing visible for eighteen months, had disappeared. Frederick II. always exhibited great interest in Tycho's researches and to enable him to pursue his observations unmolested, bestowed upon him the little Island of Hven, near Copenhagen. Here Tycho built a great observatory, known as Uranienborg, remarkable in those times for the number of ingenious instruments which it contained, many of Tycho's own contrivance, and for the subterranean observatory attached to it, in which, through a narrow slit far above the observer's head, the stars might be seen in broad daylight. When King Frederick died, Tycho Brahe's relations, who belonged to the oldest nobility and had long resented his devotion to scientific research as a reproach to their rank, used all their influence with the regents to bring him under suspicion of treason and heresy; and, at length, to escape imprisonment as a traitor or a madman, he was forced into voluntary exile. At the earnest invitation of the Emperor Rudolph II. of Germany, he settled in 1598 at Prague, where he died, in 1601, while engaged with his friend Kepler in composing from his numerous observations at Uranienborg those astronomical tables which are to-day known as the Rudolphine. The name of Tycho Brahe is to be linked with those of Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton in any account of the rise of modern astronomy from the systems of Ptolemy and Hipparchus.

[1] "*De Nova Stella*," published in 1572 in a separate paper, but afterward included with other treatises in one volume, "*Progymnasmata*."

1588-1606

When Frederick II.[2] died, in the year 1588, his son and successor, Christian IV., was but eleven years of age. According to the will of the late king, his queen, Sophia of Mecklenburg, was to act as regent for her son till the latter attained the age of eighteen, but the council of state refused to confirm the regency and appointed four members of their own body to conduct the affairs of the government, and to have charge of the person of the young king. They also decreed that Christian's minority should continue till his twentieth year, and drew up a code to regulate the intercourse of the young king with his self-constituted guardians.

These, however, turned out to be able and patriotic men, under whose conscientious direction Christian became an accomplished prince. Thus, he early displayed great talent for mathematics and mechanics, and, while care was taken by the chancellor, Niels Kass, to provide him with competent teachers in these and allied branches of learning, his love for the sea was developed by another of his guardians, Chief Admiral Peder Munk, who caused a miniature frigate to be built expressly for his ward, upon the lake adjoining the royal palace of Skanderborg, and where expert sailors taught Christian how to manage his toy man-of-war, and shipbuilders instructed him in all the details of their craft.

Christian paid a visit to England in 1606 to his sister Anne, who had married James I., and we are told that he took his young nephews, the princes Henry, Charles, and James, for a cruise with him in the Channel, on board the *Trefoldighed,* or *Trinity,* for which he had himself constructed the model. There seems to have been a great deal of feasting and merry-making during this visit, and James I.'s courtiers are said to have expressed their astonishment at the quantity of beer and wine that the royal guest had been able to imbibe. They were, however, even more astonished at the accomplishments of this northern monarch, who spoke many languages with equal facility, could fence and fight, ride and drive, and swim with the best of them, and who seemed to know something of every subject, asked questions about everything he saw, was well acquainted with the science of his times, and was competent to plan a ship, a church, or a palace. Christian very possibly inherited some of his versatility

[2] The memory of Frederick II. of Denmark and his highly gifted Queen Sophia possesses a special interest to Englishmen, since as the parents of Anne, wife of James I. of England and VI. of Scotland, they rank among the direct ancestors of Edward VII.

and love of knowledge from his mother, Sophia of Mecklenburg, who was said to have been the most learned queen of her age, and who, when the nobles and council of state would not let her act as regent for her son, retired without reluctance to a quiet place in the country, where she spent her time in the study of chemistry, astronomy, and other sciences.

Christian's merits as a ruler were indeed great. To him Denmark owed the establishment of numerous companies for trading to Iceland, Greenland, America, and the East Indies; the opening of the first line of postroads from Copenhagen to the various seaports; the erection of numerous bridges, fortifications, and other means of national communication and defense; the enlistment of the first Danish standing army; the careful organization of the fleet and navy, and the foundation of several military and naval colleges. He encouraged home trade by bringing skilled artificers from abroad to instruct the Danish workmen in their several crafts, aided master tradesmen in establishing manufactories and workshops, and employed men skilled in science to superintend the royal silver and copper mines in Norway, and to advise the inspectors of the crown lands, woods, and lakes. His love of display and taste for building tended greatly to the improvement and embellishment of his capital, and the splendid castles of Fredricksborg and Rosenborg near Copenhagen, together with the Round Tower, the Royal Exchange, and one or two churches which have escaped the numerous great fires and bombardments of the intervening centuries, still attest the artistic skill and creative genius of this king, who in most cases himself furnished the models and plans from his own hands.

Christian entered with great sagacity upon the task of revising the laws of Denmark and Norway, and of making the alterations in them demanded by the changed condition of society; and here, as in the measures which he took to improve the higher schools, he evinced a strong leaning toward principles of equality. The general tendency of his reforms was to subject the nobles to the same legal control as the classes below them, while the extension which he gave to university teaching in his kingdom was designed primarily to benefit the lower orders. Christian also showed himself desirous of making the younger members of the nobility useful members of the state, in founding in 1623 an academy at Söro, near Copenhagen, which was intended to give youths of this description

the instruction suited to their rank before they left their own country to travel abroad for amusement. His constant endeavor, however, to lessen the power of the nobles over their serfs, and check their encroachments on the rights of the crown, made him unpopular with the higher classes, who thwarted his projects at every possible turn, and took vengeance for his hostility to their immuities and privileges by withholding the money supplies which he required.

Especially was this true in the Thirty Years' War. Early in the year 1625 the Protestant princes of north Germany appealed to Christian for help against Wallenstein and Tilly, who, after laying waste every Protestant district of southern Germany, had thrown their armies into Pomerania. In response to the appeal of his Protestant brethren, Christian led a large number of troops into Germany, and for three years performed valiant service in the cause of the Protestant princes in Pomerania, the Marklands, and Brunswick, but while he was fighting abroad his enemies were carrying the war into his own country, slaying and plundering wherever they appeared. Duke Frederick III. of Holstein and Slesvig had opened those provinces to Wallenstein, and in defiance of Christian, whose vassal he was, had surrendered to the imperial general every fortress in the two provinces. At last, in 1629, Christian decided to withdraw from the German war. By the Treaty of Lübeck he pledged himself never again to take up arms for the German Protestant princes against the emperor, who, in return for this pledge, restored to Christian the lands his generals had seized.

The Danish monarch's withdrawal from the German war was, in part, determined by the dilapidated condition of his exchequer; but in part it was induced by growing apprehension of Gustavus Adolphus's intentions on the Continent. From 1629 to 1643, the date of Torstensson's invasion of Denmark, Christian engaged in ceaseless concoction of plots and intrigues against the rising Swedish power. The terms of the disastrous Treaty of Brömsebro brought all this scheming to a futile close. By the surrender of Sound tolls, stipulated in that pact, 200,000 rix dollars were lost annually to the Danish exchequer. Yet, when the old king in his perplexity tried to secure funds by commuting for a money payment the service with men and horses due from the nobility, the council of state threatened to pass over his sons in the succession,

and elect a prince of the Holstein-Gottorp family to be his successor.[3]

After the loss of his first queen, Anna Katherina of Brandenburg, in 1612, Christian had married Kristine Munk, a lady of noble but not royal lineage, to whom, being unable to make her queen, he gave the title of Countess of Slesvig-Holstein. The king lived for many years happily with this lady, but later became distrustful of her and caused her conduct to be made the subject of a judicial inquiry before his council, the outcome of which was the lady's banishment to Jutland. The highly gifted Eleanor Kristine, who married a Danish nobleman, Korfitz Ulfeld, and, together with her ambitious husband, exerted a very great influence over the king during his declining years, was one of the numerous issue of this connection.

Christian IV. died in 1648. With the Danish people his memory has been cherished with devoted loyalty from one generation to another, and they look upon him as the greatest king since the time of the Valdemars, ascribing the good of his reign to himself and the evil to the nobles, by whom he was held in such galling bondage.

The century and a quarter lying between the revolution of Gustaf Vasa and the Treaty of Westphalia closes with certain definite things accomplished and certain other things indicated. The coronation of Gustaf Vasa meant the end of the Union of Calmar, though the demise of that pact was not formally recognized till the Peace of Stettin, nearly a half-century afterward. By the action of the diet of Copenhagen, in 1563, Norway became incorporated

[3] It was in the course of the war of 1643-1645 that Christian, while commanding the fleet from his own ship *Trefoldighed* or *Trinity,* lost an eye and was otherwise severely injured by the splinter of a mast, which struck him in the face as he was giving the word of command. The king, who was then upwards of seventy years old, continued, nevertheless, to direct the movements of his fleet, and remained on deck till the increasing darkness forced the Swedes to take shelter in the Bay of Kiele, off the Island of Femern. The following day he drew a line of ships across the entrance of the bay, and leaving his admiral, Peder Galt, to watch the Swedish fleet, returned to Copenhagen to seek the rest which he so much needed. To Christian's great mortification, Galt allowed the Swedes to escape, an act of carelessness which the unfortunate admiral had to expiate with his life. King Christian's personal valor in this engagement had been made the subject of a poem by Ewald, who died in 1781, and was one of the greatest Danish writers of lyrics. This song, beginning with the words, "King Christian stood beside the high mast," has been set to music and is used as the national anthem of Denmark.

as a province of Denmark. The Upsala Möta of 1593 meant that Scandinavia was irretrievably Protestant and irretrievably Lutheran. But more than a half-century before that date both the Danish and Swedish churches had been nationalized, their property confiscated to the crown, their clergy deprived of political rank. In Sweden the Reformation had meant a complete regrouping of the political forces of the realm. The legislation of Charles IX. and Gustavus Adolphus, taking cognizance of this fact, established the constitution of Sweden on a new basis: an hereditary monarchy, served and advised by a nobility of various grades and by the peasant and burgher orders. Only in respect to certain phases of legislative power does the Swedish monarch, after 1629, fail of absolute power. In Denmark, on the other hand, the Reformation enhanced both the wealth and power of the lay magnates. The desperate straits in which the Danish monarchy found itself necessitated the *coup* of Frederick III. Owing to the superior position of its rulers, whose tremendous genius was afforded full and free play, Sweden not only eclipsed Denmark in the period under discussion, but emerged from the Thirty Years' War one of the chief military powers of Europe. Already, however, the fatal rivalry of Russia had revealed itself. Between 1520 and 1540 the monopoly of the Hanseatic towns was broken. Forthwith Scandinavian industry, commerce, and town-life began an uninterrupted development.

Chapter XVI

SWEDEN'S ADVANCE IN ACQUISITIONS AND PRESTIGE. 1644-1697

CHRISTINA, the only child of Gustavus Adolphus, attained the age of eighteen in 1644 and began to rule on her own responsibility. She had inherited much of her father's talent and was perhaps the most learned and accomplished woman of an epoch of learned women. She had, in fact, received the education of a man under the tuition of the learned Professor Matthiae. When she came to the throne she had read Thucydides and Polybius in the original, could write and speak Latin, French, German, and several other languages, and was familiar with the theology and philosophy taught in the universities of that age. She possessed marked taste for the fine arts and for the pursuit of science. She encouraged scientific men at her court and spent money, even to prodigality, in rewarding artistic merit of all kinds. From an early age she displayed great penetration and insight into the characters and motives of other persons, and revealed a fascination of manner which won the confidence and devotion of those about her person. But as a dangerous offset to her many splendid qualities she had all the waywardness, caprice, restlessness of mind, fickleness, love of display, and extravagance for which her beautiful mother, Maria Eleanora of Brandenburg, had been noted.

In the interval of the regency the national estates had split up into parties, the aristocrats being led by Axel Oxenstierna, and the democrats, with whom the queen sided, by Johan Skytte. The clergy struggled to maintain their independence under the oppressive patronage of the nobles, and the peasants sought to recover the power which the great Gustaf Vasa had granted them, but which his successors, especially Gustavus Adolphus, had by degrees seriously circumscribed. The kingdom was in a ferment and civil war seemed inevitable. At the same time the council was urging the queen to marry. At length, after showing great reluctance to consider the question at all, Christina proposed her cousin, Karl Gustaf of the Palatinate, as her successor; but, when pressed by

the council and by the prince himself to give him her hand, she would only bind herself so far as to declare that she would take no other for her husband. After much opposition, therefore, Karl Gustaf was declared successor to the throne in the event of the queen's having no children of her own. Soon after this provisional settlement of the succession, Christina was crowned amid unparalleled display and ceremony. The dissensions in the diet continued none the less, being greatly aggravated, in fact, by the queen's profuse wastefulness and her reckless squandering of the property of the crown upon her favorites. Lands and titles and patents of nobility were scattered broadcast among all classes so that during the reign the *Riddarhus* was augmented by thirty-two new counts and barons, and by the admission of the representatives of 428 newly ennobled families, including the court tailor, Jan Holm, who assumed the proud name of Leijonkrona. The same baronies were so often disposed of by sale that the matter was taken up by the council in 1651, when the clerk of a chancery secretary was publicly beheaded for having sold forty-two false patents.

Meanwhile, under the influence of Don Antonio Pimentelli, Spanish ambassador at her court, and her French physician, Bourdelot, Christina became more and more engrossed by frivolous pursuits. Singers, actors, dancers, and jugglers were invited to Stockholm and soon the queen herself took part in the plays and ballets performed at the palace. Cromwell's representative, the Puritan Whitelocke, has left us a lively, if somewhat prejudiced, report in his journal of the pleasures and practices of the Swedish courtiers when he went to Upsala in 1654. Thus, he expresses his surprise and reprobation at the spectacle created by nobles going along the streets on a Sunday, singing boisterously and at last kneeling down in the market-place and drinking the queen's health with loud huzzahs.[1] Among the numerous foreigners who flocked into Sweden were Jesuits in disguise, who came in the hope of converting Queen Christina, perhaps invited by herself; for, although she continued while on the throne publicly to profess Lutheran doctrines, she expressed great interest in the history of Catholicism, and in 1655 made a formal declaration of her adhesion to the faith of the Roman Church. Her extravagance exhausted all sources of income, and twice the royal kitchen had to

[1] Whitelocke: "A Journal of the Swedish Embassy in the years 1653 and 1654," Morton's edition. London, 1855, vol. I. pp. 401 ff.

be closed for want of money, and the queen's servants were forced to beg a dinner for themselves and their royal mistress.

Early in the year 1654 Christina informed her council of her fixed resolution to give up the throne, and at a diet held in May at Upsala the terms of abdication were settled. After much discussion it was agreed that she was to hold Oeland, Gothland, Oesel, and other districts, with a revenue of 240,000 rix dollars. On the morning of June 6 the final ceremony was accomplished. The queen came forth from her apartments with the crown on her head, wearing her coronation robes over a simple white dress, and bearing in her hands the globe and scepter. Taking her stand before the throne in the great hall of the palace at Upsala, she made farewell speeches to her council and the crown prince; at the close of which she walked down the steps of the dais with a firm tread and laid aside the regalia one by one. All present were moved at the spectacle, and even men were seen to shed tears as they watched the young queen cast aside all the signs of royalty. At that moment the old companions of her father, who had watched faithfully over her in her childhood, forgot their causes for vexation with their charge in their grief at the step she was taking. In the afternoon of the same day the crown prince was proclaimed, and crowned in the presence of the diet at the cathedral, and on the following day Christina left Upsala. Twelve ships of war were lying ready off Calmar to convey her and her retinue from Sweden, but instead of embarking from there, she passed through Halmstad and crossed the Sound to Denmark, proceeding thence on her travels through Germany and the Low Countries. She took only four Swedes with her, having dismissed all the rest of her suite, and when she reached a little brook, which then formed part of the boundary line between Sweden and the Danish territories of Skaania, she got out of her carriage and springing lightly over the stream, exclaimed: "At last I am free! and out of Sweden, to which I hope I may never return."

Thus, strangely and dramatically, did Queen Christina pass from among her people. Her change of religion and the curious tales which were from time to time brought to Sweden of her mode of life estranged more and more her former subjects. She was at first received with the greatest respect and enthusiasm in the Catholic countries that she visited, but here, too, her eccentric conduct, her contempt for all feminine pursuits, her constant want

of funds, and her disregard of the laws of the lands in which she took up her abode, made her in time an unwelcome and troublesome guest, one prince after the other forcing her to depart from his dominions. At the death of her cousin and successor, Charles X., she returned to Sweden and claimed the crown for herself, but neither then nor in 1667, when she renewed her pretensions, would the council encourage her, and, after a final futile attempt to gain the vacant throne of Poland in 1668, she resigned all schemes of ever reigning again, and retired to Rome, where she spent the closing years of her life in the society of learned men, and in the indulgence of her taste for collecting rare books and costly works of art. There she died in 1689 at the age of sixty-three.

The short reign of Charles X., from 1655 to 1660, was a time of great disorder in Sweden. To obtain money to carry on the government, Charles was forced to exact from the nobles the restitution of one-fourth of the crown lands which had been granted to them under former rulers, and to keep down the restless discontent which had sprung up under the late queen, he resolved to engage the people in active war. But it was not without difficulty that he obtained the consent of the diet to make the necessary preparations, and for a time the question remained undetermined whether the arms of Sweden should be turned against Denmark or Poland. The Danish traitor, Korfitz Ulfeld, strongly urged the advisability of attacking Denmark, whose unprotected condition was well known to him, but the ill-timed demand of the Polish king, John Casimir, to be proclaimed the true heir to Christina's throne drew the initial attack upon Poland. Charles X. was born to be a soldier and a conqueror. The success and rapidity with which he overran all Poland and crushed the Polish army in a three days' engagement at Warsaw in 1656 showed him a worthy pupil and successor of his famous uncle, the great Gustavus. But it was easier for him to make conquests than to keep them. The Russians, jealous of the increasing power of Sweden, immediately entered the war on the side of the Poles, attacking Livonia and Esthonia. At the same moment an imperial army advanced to assist the Poles, who, infuriated at the excesses of the Swedish soldiers, had risen *en masse* against them.

Charles, seeing the expediency of extricating himself from his dangerous situation, retreated in January, 1658, across the frozen Belt and fell upon Denmark, Frederick III. having indiscreetly

joined the general alliance against Sweden. The short war that followed was one of the most disastrous in Danish history. It was brought to a close by the humiliating Peace of Roeskilde, which was written out by the traitor, Korfitz Ulfeld.

By this pact Denmark surrendered to Sweden Drontheim and Aggerhus in Norway, the old Danish provinces of Skaania, Halland, and Bleking, besides the islands of Lessö, Anhalt, Femern, and

Bornholm, and the lands of the Ditmarshes. Frederick was also obliged to yield to Sweden one-half of all Sound tolls and twelve ships of war, and to pay the Swedish king's brother-in-law, Duke Frederick III. of Holstein-Gottorp, a large monetary indemnity for the damage done the duke's fortresses. The final humiliation was added when Charles X. insisted on the restitution to Ulfeld of all his forfeited lands in Denmark and the liberation of Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp from all further obligations to the Danish king.

Despite these almost unlimited concessions, Charles X., who was undoubtedly bent upon wiping out the Danish monarchy, renewed the war no fewer than five times in the interval of the years 1658-1660. At the close of 1658 Copenhagen itself was on the point of surrender. At this moment, however, a Dutch fleet under Admirals Opdam and De Witte forced its way through the opposing Swedish fleet lying in the Cattegat and brought food and help to the starving citizens. Charles now determined to take the city by assault, and on the night of February 10-11, 1659, his generals, Stenbock and Sparre, led a storming party against the fortifications of Copenhagen. The citizens, who had received warning of the intended assault, were, however, well prepared to defend themselves, and, after a desperate conflict, in which many women participated, by throwing burning brands and boiling tar on the heads of the assailants, the Swedes had to fall back, leaving 2000 dead and wounded in the hands of the Danes. Relinquishing his attack on Copenhagen for the moment, the Swedish king turned his attention to the small islands of Laaland, Falster, Moen, and Langeland, which, in expiation of the offense of having supplied the capital with provisions, were overrun and subjected to all the horrors of invasion by troops to whom every excess and license were allowed. King Frederick showed both fortitude and sagacity in the fearful position in which he found himself placed. At last he succeeded, by his earnest representations to foreign powers, in securing the intervention of France, England, and Holland. A conference, held at The Hague, dispatched a Dutch fleet under Admiral de Ruyter to the aid of the oppressed Danes. By his help the Danish king was enabled to embark an army, composed of Danes and allied troops, for the relief of Fyen, where they obtained decided advantages over the Swedish commanders, the Count Palatine of Sulzbach and Count Stenbock.

Charles now decided to direct the war against Norway, and for this purpose called together the diet at Göteborg, and demanded new troops and fresh subsidies. Even while the estates were sitting the king was seized of a sudden illness, to which he succumbed in midwinter, 1660, at the age of thirty-eight.

With Charles X. a new dynasty—that of the Palatinate—ascended the Swedish throne, but, although he was the son of the Count Palatine, John Casimir, he can scarcely be reckoned a foreign prince, for he had been brought up in Sweden and was thor-

oughly Swedish in speech, habits, and modes of thinking. His mother, Katerina, the only sister of Gustavus Adolphus, had been careful to educate him in a manner that might fit him for ruling over Sweden, as she had from his childhood cherished the hope that he would marry his royal cousin. He was a man of sound sense and strong will, and possessed great capacity for ruling, but his insatiable thirst for war so thoroughly absorbed his time and attention that he was not able to effect any considerable institutional improvements for his people in the course of his short reign. By the few reforms which he brought about, however, he manifested anxiety to extend the resources of the working classes by introducing and encouraging manufactures, while he helped to augment the national credit by introducing something like order into the national finances.

By the early death of Charles X., Sweden was again brought under regency, for Charles XI. was only four years old when he became king. By the will of his father, his mother, Hedwig Eleanore of Holstein-Gottorp, and his uncle, Duke Johan, were appointed members of the council of regency, which also included Magnus de la Gardie, his uncle by marriage. But the chief officers of state, objecting to the presence of so many members of the royal family, tried to set aside the will of the late king, on the ground that a woman could not legally sit at the council board, and that Duke Johan, as a German-born prince, was also ineligible. The diet, however, confirming all the provisions of the royal will, the regency was carried on in the form which Charles had prescribed, but in such a spirit of mutual ill-will among the members that the interest of the kingdom was generally defeated in the furtherance of private grudges. Every department of the government suffered from mismanagement, the army and navy were neglected, the defenses of the frontier fell into decay, and the public servants went unpaid.

The regency took one commendable step, however; it brought the late king's numerous wars to a close by a series of treaties most advantageous to Sweden. By the Peace of Oliva—so-called from the monastery near Dantzig, within whose walls it was signed—John Casimir forever abandoned the pretensions of the Polish house to the throne of Sweden, as well as his claims upon Esthonia and Livonia. By the Peace of Copenhagen, the same year—1660—Denmark forever surrendered the southern part of the Scandinavian

peninsula, which had been already ceded by the Peace of Roeskilde, but recovered Drontheim and Bornholm. By the Peace of Kardis (1661) Sweden and Russia made reciprocal surrenders of territory.

In consequence of these numerous treaties, Sweden's great army was now without employment, and of this fact the regency availed themselves in order to relieve their financial difficulties. The "pride of Sweden" was split up into contingents, which were let for hire to various European powers. The regency also began the policy of systematically accepting subsidies from various monarchs, particularly from Louis XIV., a vicious practice which ultimately reduced Sweden to a mere pawn of the house of Bourbon, and corrupted root and branch her government and administration.

Meantime, the young king grew to maturity, receiving no very careful education, for the queen-mother was a woman of meager mental capacity who neither cared for, nor knew anything of, intellectual pursuits, but concerned herself almsot exclusively about her son's physical health. Charles, arriving at his eighteenth year, was declared of age, and, upon the resignation of the regency, began to reign of his own initiative. During the opening years of his reign the young ruler, along with a formidable will of his own, displayed a great distaste for business, which only time overcame. Riding, hunting, fencing, and the companionship of other youths engrossed his attention, while for his councilors he had but distrust and suspicion. On the other hand, he was of a devout turn of mind, and of blameless conduct, if we are to judge from the silence upon this point of his many bitter critics of a later day.

In 1674 Louis XIV., in conformity with the secret treaty which the regents had concluded with him two years before, called upon Charles to lend aid against certain princes of the empire. Charles sent an army into Germany, which advanced without opposition into the heart of Brandenburg, but before the allies could effect a junction in the Rhinelands the Great Elector was upon the Swedes at Fehrbellin. The Swedish losses were not excessive, but the result of their defeat was to encourage the ancient rivals of that kingdom, and early in 1675 both Holland and Denmark declared war upon Charles.

For fifteen years Sweden had enjoyed uninterrupted and neglectful peace. Accordingly, when the young king entered upon the war that now confronted him, he speedily found that both his fleet

and his military defenses were in great decay. The consequence was that the Danes, under their great admiral, Niels Juel, and supported by a Dutch squadron, easily defeated the Swedish fleet off Oeland, burning many of its vessels and sinking others.

On land the contest was less one-sided. In 1676 Charles defeated the Danes in a most sanguinary battle on the snow-covered hills of Lund, though at the cost of half his own army. In Germany the Swedish forces fought gallantly, but with little success, under Otto Königsmark. Charles gladly welcomed the general peace which 1679 brought. By the Treaty of St. Germains Sweden recovered Pomerania, while all Swedish and Danish conquests were mutually renounced. At the same time, Charles XI. married the Danish princess, Ulrica Eleanora, whose gentle influence and constant endeavor to maintain friendly relations between the two northern kingdoms made her subjects regard her as a second Fred Kulla, or "peace maiden."

Charles XI. now began in good earnest to set his kingdom in order. In the stern policy which he pursued toward the higher nobility he was mainly influenced by the counsels of his devoted friend, the able Johan Gyllenstjerna, who, together with his chief supporters, Klas Fleming and Erik Lindsköld, made a thorough investigation into the conduct of every department of state. Among other disclosures, their inquiries brought to light the almost hopeless condition of the royal finances. There was absolutely no money at the king's disposal, while nearly all the crown lands which had been squandered by Christina still remained in the hands of their purchasers. In view of this situation, Charles made a direct appeal to the national estates. With their consent the former regents and councilors were called upon in 1680 to refund five million silver dollars, which they had wrongfully appropriated. The estates further granted to Charles the right of "Reduction," as it was called, namely, the power to "draw back" some of the crown lands which had been wantonly alienated by former rulers. This measure, which was at first restricted to estates acquired within the previous thirty years, and to only a fourth part of the lands in question, led in the course of time by the severity with which it was ultimately enforced to the impoverishment of noble families once the wealthiest of Sweden. Thus, even Count Magnus de la Gardie, who was the husband of Charles's aunt, the Princess Marie Euphrosine, was deprived of all he owned, and forced to dismiss all

his servants. But the king, who had a great deal of iron in his makeup and deeply resented the former arrogance of his nobility, manifested no compassion for the sufferers, and never paused till he had thoroughly crushed their power and reduced the national estates to the condition of a mere chamber of ratification, summoned only to approve and confirm the royal acts. At length, the estates, in 1693, proclaimed him absolute sovereign king, "who had the power and right to rule his kingdom as he pleased."

Thus, King Charles XI. of Sweden became an absolute sovereign by a bloodless revolution, and, it may be added, that he used his power for the good of his people. He spent the money which the regents had been forced to refund in paying off some of the national debt, and in making many important improvements. He put the army and fleet on a war footing, granted land to his soldiers, who in time of peace were thus converted into useful citizens, and took stringent measures to give a Swedish character to the old Danish provinces of Skaania and Bleking; while he so thoroughly crushed the power of the independent nobles of Livonia and the Baltic provinces of Sweden that many of these ancient families preferred exile to the restrictions imposed upon them.

The Swedish church was also brought under a new code and made more distinctly a factor in the general education of the people than had before been the case. This, at least, was Charles's ideal for his people, among whom, with all his harshness, he was a popular king. On the journeys which, in his eager quest of information, he made through all parts of his dominions with the purpose of seeing and judging for himself of the real condition of his subjects, he entered freely into their amusements and listened patiently to the numerous petitions and complaints laid before him. The last years of his reign were afflicted with an almost total failure of the crops and a murrain among the cattle, which are said to have led to the starvation of nearly 100,000 persons, notwithstanding the measures which the king caused to be taken in their relief. After a long and painful illness, Charles XI. died in 1697 at the age of forty-two, having survived his queen only a few months, and leaving three children, the eldest of whom succeeded him under the title of Charles XII.

Chapter XVII

THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR AND THE DECLINE OF ABSOLUTE POWER. 1697-1771

CHARLES XI. in his will and testament ordered that a regency be appointed in the interval of his heir's minority. The national estates, however, reverting in thought, undoubtedly, to the corruption and incompetence of the last regency, forthwith declared Charles XII. of age, though, in fact, he was but fifteen years old. Nor was the young ruler in the least dismayed, but summoning the various estates to do him homage, with his own hands he placed his crown upon his head, thus pronouncing both his conviction of the unqualified nature of his authority, and the independence of his personal character. The latter he also manifested by the reluctance with which he took advice from his council of state. Only the words of his favorite, Karl Piper, had much weight with him.

Full fledged in his man's obstinacy, Charles, none the less, by his mode of life, revealed his youth's immaturity. Very soon he had squandered the funds that his father had laboriously accumulated. Nor did he stop short with his fortune, for he was as ready to expose his life in all sorts of breakneck sports, jousts, and bear hunts. The consequence of this youthful exuberance of spirit was destined to be international, for it conduced to an erroneous estimation of Charles's capacity on the part of certain neighboring monarchs, three of whom, Charles's own cousin, Frederick IX. of Denmark, Tsar Peter of Russia, and Augustus II., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, came to the conclusion that the time was ripe for the partition of Swedish dominions. The plot was revealed, when, early in 1700, Augustus invaded Livonia, while the Danes attacked Charles's brother-in-law, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and, after taking Gottorp, laid siege to Tonningen.

Charles XII. was not yet out of his teens, but he evinced neither surprise nor panic at the treachery of his supposed friends and allies. Abandoning forever his youthful pastimes for the better

sport of war, he turned to repel the danger that threatened his throne and his people. Dispatching an army of Swedes and Luneburghers to the relief of Tonningen, he, at the same time, applied to William of Orange for naval assistance. The War of the Spanish Succession was impending. Loath to see the Swedes return to their old-time intimacy with the house of Bourbon, William immediately complied with a fleet of Dutch and English vessels, which, being joined by the Swedish fleet, proceeded to bombard Copenhagen. This enterprise meeting with but indifferent success, Charles determined on a land attack, and, with this end in view, effected a landing at Humelebek. As he led his men ashore, the water surged about him and the enemy's bullets whistled past him: "This," he exclaimed, "is the very best music I have ever heard, and I shall care for no other as long as I live." His display of bravado, however, was less astounding than the natural talent that he revealed from the outset for solving the more difficult problems of warfare. He moved his troops with celerity and encamped them with expedition; he maintained a degree of discipline that in that day and age of the world was all but unheard of; the Sjaelland peasants, upon whom he quartered his troops, received with astonishment, which was none the less genuine because it was grateful, pay for provisions and provender, which they had already resigned themselves to be deprived of by force.

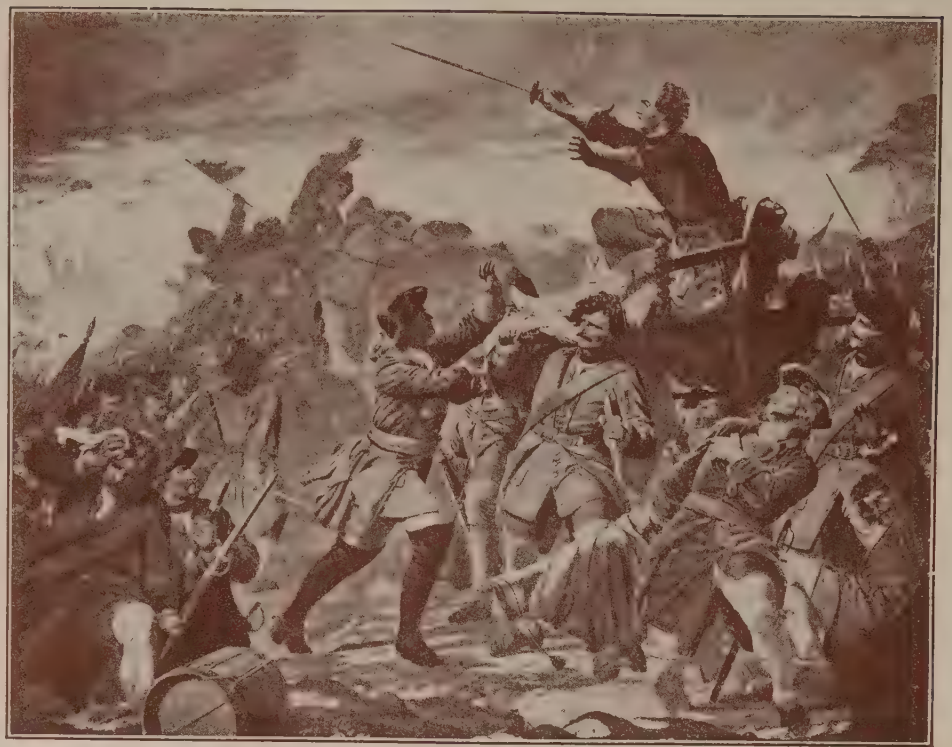
Most marvelous of all, however, were the tremendous exertions of which he was personally capable. A companion in arms in later years, Prince Maximilian of Wurtemberg,[1] relates that, on one occasion, the king and he, after riding 180 miles in twenty-four hours, suddenly found their way barred by a large lake. "After searching about for some time they found at last the hollowed-out trunk of a tree which served the rude fishermen of these parts as a boat. Charles at once jumped into it, seized the paddles, and bade the prince sit behind and hold the horses by the bridles as they swam after them. When they got into the middle of the lake, and were out of sight of land, the horses grew so restive that they nearly upset the boat, and for some hours the king and prince were in extreme peril; and this was only one of many similar escapades."

Seeing his capital invested by land and water, Frederick of Denmark agreed to a peace. Charles now turned to the relief of Riga, whose garrison under Dahlberg was maintaining a gallant

[1] R. Nisbet Bain: "Charles XII," (Heroes of the Nations), p. 139.

defense against an army of Poles, Russians, and Saxons. Triumphing again, Charles next advanced into Ingermannland, toward Narva, before which an army of 60,000 Russians commanded by the Duc de Croy had sat down. Here Charles performed the most brilliant feat of his career of arms. Advancing with but 8000 men, by seemingly impassable roads, he attacked his vastly more numerous, but undisciplined, foe in their trenches. So precipitate was the flight of the Russians that 18,000 of them were drowned in the Narva, and so many were made prisoners by the Swedes that Charles, after disarming them, gave them their liberty, in despair of maintaining them.

Charles XII. had now repelled every invader from his dominions and had disclosed a proclivity for sheer fighting that was a standing admonition to all others who may have meditated invasion. It were well had he rested content with having effected so much. But the adulation that mankind could not withhold from his astounding genius did not lessen the self-will of the young monarch; and success bred a desire for revenge upon those who had held him in low esteem; moreover, in Charles's estimation war was neither more nor less than the most joyous and glorious of exercises. Turning southward in 1701, he advanced into Poland, took Warsaw by storm, and from the field of Klissov drove Augustus into his hereditary dominions of Saxony. In 1703 he captured Thorn and Dantzig. Yet, despite the favorable position in which these successes left him, Charles was still obdurate in the matter of a peace. Having had to resist the blandishments of the famous Aurora Königsmarck, one of the Polish king's numerous mistresses, whom Augustus had sent to wheedle his fearful antagonist into a peace, at the beginning of the year, Charles had now come to regard war as the necessary vindication of his manly honor. It was in vain, therefore, that the faithful Karl Piper presented an elaborate memorial, in August, vehemently urging peace. Charles was bent on dethroning Augustus. But even if he did bring this about, Piper pertinently inquired, could he keep his own candidate on the slippery Polish throne? Was it not absurd, the memorialist persisted, to continue a profitless foreign war, while the Russians were ravaging Swedish territory? Finally, did it become a Christian monarch to manifest such vindictiveness against a foe who offered reparation and sought forgiveness? The king's response was to appoint Piper chancellor of Upsala University.



THE WOUNDED CHARLES XII IS CARRIED ABOUT ON A LITTER DURING THE BATTLE OF POLTAVA, 1709

Painting by Wilhelm Hauschild

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To his field-secretary, Hermelin, he disclosed his programme:[2] "We have ten years yet to fight with the Poles, and then twenty years more of fighting with the Russians." "In that case," replied the secretary, "those of your majesty's soldiers who happen to survive at all will certainly be well disciplined." His majesty granted they would, and rejoined: "Well, soldiers ought to be well disciplined, ought they not?"

In February, 1704, Charles procured the deposition of Augustus by the diet of Warsaw and the election of Stanislaus Leczinski, the Voivad of Posen, to the Polish throne. But the following August the deposed monarch was back at Warsaw, at the head of a powerful army of Russians and Saxons. Horn, the Swedish commander of the citadel, was compelled to surrender, and Stanislaus himself narrowly escaped capture. Charles, meanwhile, was subjugating southern Poland. No sooner, however, did he learn of Augustus's arrival than he set off at headlong speed, first for the Polish capital and then in pursuit of Augustus, who was already in retreat when Charles set out. Traversing its last three hundred and sixty miles in nine days, the Swedish army overtook the Saxons at Punitz. Augustus's commander, Schulenberg, had an advantage in numbers of nearly three to one, but he was utterly defeated and was glad to avail himself of nightfall to continue his flight. Charles, pursuing his foe some distance into Silesia, returned shortly to Ravitz on the Saxon frontier. In September, 1705, Stanislaus was crowned at Warsaw and a treaty of alliance, directed against Russia and the Saxon elector, was effected between Charles and the Polish republic. The court of Berlin also proffered an alliance, but these overtures Charles haughtily rejected. Thus nine months of military inactivity passed. In the late autumn of 1705 Charles overran Lithuania, and, early in January, 1706, shut up a Russian army in Grodno. At the behest of his terrified ally, the tsar, Augustus again resumed arms and was terribly punished for his presumption by Rehnskiold at Franstadt. The Saxon elector, in despair, now disbanded his army and retired into Cracow. In August, 1706, Charles, again at the head of the united Swedish forces, crossed the Vistula into Saxony.

The descent of the victorious Swedish army upon the empire produced the greatest consternation in Europe. The War of the Spanish Succession was now at its height. Ranged on the one side were England, the empire, Holland, and Savoy; on the

[2] R. Nisbet Bain: "Charles XII." (Heroes of the Nations), p. 110.

other, France and Spain. True, Marlborough had achieved a great victory over Villeroi, at Ramillies, in May, and a few days after Charles's irruption into Saxony, Eugene had defeated the French at Turin. Yet, how easily might victory still be snatched from the uncertain grasp of the allies, if Charles XII. should choose to remember and honor Sweden's traditional friendship for France! Throughout the autumn, winter, and spring of 1706-1707 the Swedish monarch, now the arbiter of Europe, kept a rude warrior's court at Altranstadt, near Leipzig, for the most polished embassies of Europe. The great Marlborough himself came hither in April, 1707, to secure by diplomacy, and by bribes if need be, what he had won by a military genius more consummate even than that of the Swedish king. Ushered into the presence of Charles, the duke presented a letter from his queen, and said: "Had not her sex prevented it, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I am in this particular more happy than the queen, and I wish I could serve some campaigns under so great a general as your majesty, that I might learn what I yet want to know of the art of war."[3] Charles, visibly pleased by this splendid flattery, expressed his utmost regard for the interests of the grand alliance. However, "he would do nothing to the prejudice of the Protestant religion." Marlborough, taking the cue thus offered, argued dexterously to show that the grand alliance, in defending the balance of power, was also fighting to prevent the destruction of religious liberty, a contention apparently confirmed by the action of the Emperor Joseph I. in according liberty of worship to his Protestant Silesian subjects. On other matters Charles preserved his usual imperturbability and taciturnity. To small purpose, however, it would seem, for so confident was Marlborough that he had penetrated the Swedish king's design to turn his arms next against the tsar, that he proffered not the suggestion of a bribe, but thriftily pocketed the corruption fund himself. Later, an emissary from Louis XVI., a Swiss merchant, Louis having foreseen the futility of a conspicious embassy, succeeded, by dint of persistent endeavor, in penetrating the close cordon of opposing emissaries and agents about Charles's person. The Swedish king, however, was absolutely deaf to every project of alliance with the monarch who had revoked the Edict of Nantes

[3] W. Coxe: "Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough," vol. II. pp. 45-46. (Ed. of 1848.)

and had authorized the atrocities of the Dragonnades. The unsuccessful legate got his revenge by writing down a very circumstantial and unlovely account of the filthy attire and generally slovenly appearance of the "Cynosure of mankind." [4]

Finally, in September, 1707, Charles consented to the Peace of Altranstadt with Augustus. Augustus abdicated the Polish crown to Stanislaus, abjured his alliance with the tsar, and delivered the tsar's plenipotentiary, Patkul, to Charles, who had him broken on the wheel, beheaded, and quartered. The king of Sweden thus sated his desire for vengeance; but not one single substantial advantage did his kingdom glean from this peace to recompense her for years of wasted revenues.

In the meantime the tsar had been improving the immunity which he had enjoyed since Narva, disciplining his armies and indomitably renewing his project of securing an outlet for his people upon the Baltic. In both Ingermannland and Livonia, two Swedish provinces, he had secured a foothold, despite the feeble efforts of the undersized garrisons that Charles had left in those regions to oppose his advance; and on the banks of the Neva was lavishly expending the lives alike of his own subjects and of his prisoners of war, in laying the foundations of the capital which to-day bears his name.

When Charles broke camp in the spring of 1708 the course that he took was characteristically bold and devoid of calculation. He could not think of himself assuming the defensive. Accordingly, instead of starting for the scene of Peter's aggressions, he set out for Moscow. At the same time he struck an alliance with Ivan Mazeppa, a hetman of the Ukranian Cossacks, who promised a force of 30,000 men. In order to get into communication with Mazeppa Charles was soon compelled to change his line of march for the Ukraine. The difficulties of the route were tremendous, but at first it seemed as if nothing could impede the advance of the Swedes.

At Holovin, on the Dnieper, they gave the Russians pitched battle and routed them. Without waiting for his general, Levenhaupt, who was to have joined him with reinforcements from Courland, Charles pushed confidently on, only pausing in his insane march when the excessive cold forced him to go into winter

[4] This document was but recently brought to light by the late Gabriel Syveton.

quarters. The season was more than commonly severe even for that climate, and the Swedes suffered greatly from hunger and cold. Charles shared cheerfully in their privations, eating the same coarse food as his men, often contenting himself with moldy bread and keeping the frost out of his tent by having heated cannon balls rolled along the floor. In the meanwhile, the tsar, who was not so inexpert as Charles wished to believe, caused the country through which the Swedes would have to make their retreat to be laid waste, fortified all the passes, and used his influence over the Cossack chiefs so well that they all fell away from Mazeppa, who had to flee from his own revolted soldiers and take refuge in the Swedish camp. To complete the misfortunes of the king, Levenhaupt was met and overpowered by an immense army of Russians while on his way to join the main army, and although he kept up a desperate defense for two days, he lost all his baggage and stores and more than half of his men and reached the Swedish lines with a battered remnant of 6000 men. Hunger and disease subsequently reduced the total army to 18,000 men.

With this small force Charles laid siege to Poltava, where he hoped to find the food and clothing of which he stood in such sore need. The tsar and his minister, Menshikov, were, however, advancing with 55,000 men to the relief of the place, and soon the two armies lay encamped within sight of each other. The Swedes awaited the attack, but finding that the tsar would not venture the first move, Charles resolved to take the Russian entrenchments by assault. Having been badly wounded in the foot during a previous skirmish, he had to be carried into battle in a litter—a dispiriting circumstance considering the peculiar quality of Charles's military talent, which comprised dash of leadership rather than real strategy. But as if this were not enough, Charles himself aggravated the situation by setting his generals, Levenhaupt and Rehnskiold, by the ears by reversing their ranks. Thus, after their initial charge had borne the Russians before it, the Swedes became involved in confusion on account of contradicting orders, after which the mere numbers of the enemy sufficed to crush them. Rehnskiold was soon taken prisoner and a great part of his division captured. Levenhaupt held out for a few days, but was ultimately compelled to surrender the remnant of the army. Charles himself had at first thought to remain loyally with his men and share their fate, but finally, yielding to the importunities of his attendants,

allowed himself to be placed in a litter and borne over the steppes to Bender, in Turkish dominions.

The defeat at Poltava, which took place on June 27, 1709, was a signal to all the enemies of Charles to take up arms against his prostrate kingdom. A new league was formed between Frederick of Denmark and Augustus of Saxony, who were backed by the power of Prussia and Russia; and before the close of 1709 Sweden was assailed by hostile armies on all her frontiers. The only man who at that moment displayed both the will and the skill to defend his country was General Magnus Stenbock, who had gone to the Ukraine with the king, but in consequence of ill-health had returned to Sweden, where he held the post of governor of Skaania. By his indefatigable activity and energy he contrived to recruit and drill 15,000 peasant lads, who, although badly armed and clad only in tattered sheepskin coats or coarse woolen jackets, proved themselves intrepid soldiers and more than a match for the well-equipped and veteran regiments which Frederick IV. had thrown into Skaania, and which met presently with such utter discomfiture at the hands of the "Wooden Shoes" that only half their numbers succeeded in reaching the Danish ships in safety.

All this while Charles, who was still at Bender, was trying his hand at diplomacy with the purpose of stirring up new enemies against the tsar. Peter, by his evident anxiety to secure a Black Sea port at the expense of the Turks, contributed to the same end, and, in the year 1710, Poniatowski, Charles's agent, who possessed a notable ascendency over the Sultan Ahmed III., was able to induce the latter to dispatch an army, under the Grand Vizier Mohammed, against Peter. Peter, by no means yet a master of the art of war, was soon floundering helpless enough in the marshes of the Pruth, entirely at the mercy of his foe. Only the intrepidity of Catherine, Peter's wife, and the future tsaritsa, who in the last desperate moment bribed the grand vizier with a huge quantity of jewels and gold, all that she could scrape together in the Russian camp, saved the Russian army from a great calamity. As it was, however, the vizier consented to an immediate peace, exacting only the restoration of Azov. Charles XII.'s chagrin was boundless, but to his vehement protests his avaricious and treacherous ally was able to respond that "not all princes were able to remain permanently away from their dominions."

The position of the Swedish king now became galling in the extreme both to himself and to his host. The sultan wished to be rid of him, and gave him large sums of money wherewith to settle his accounts and make the necessary preparations to depart, but Charles spent the money in other ways and asked for more. The sultan then ordered his arrest, but when the Turkish officers attempted to take him he barred the doors of his house at Varnitz, and shutting himself in with a few hundred men, defended himself against a whole army. Many Turks were shot down in the affray, but the house having been fired, Charles was seized while escaping from the flames and, after a desperate struggle, was overpowered and carried by main force to a village near Adrianople, called Demotica. Here he remained for a long time in sullen inactivity, closely guarded by the Turkish janissaries, who called him, because of his obstinacy, "Demürbasch"—the Iron Head. For ten months he remained imprisoned and generally in bed on the pretense that he was dangerously ill. When he found that he could obtain no further aid from Turkey he resolved upon making his escape. Accompanied by only two persons he succeeded in the incredibly short time of fourteen days in riding from Adrianople through Hungary, Austria, and Germany to the Swedish port of Stralsund in Pomerania, before whose gates he presented himself on November 7, 1714, under the name of Captain Peter Frisch. The guard did not at first recognize the king, for he had not once changed his clothes and had scarcely left his saddle night or day since he had made his escape, excepting to exchange one wearied horse for another and fresher animal.

While Charles had been shut up in a Turkish prison engaged in frivolous disputes with his guards, his enemies in the north had been dismembering his kingdom; Russia striving to secure the whole of Swedish Pomerania, while George I. of England had assumed possession of Bremen and Verden, which the Danes had seized and sold to him. A Danish fleet under Tordenskiold was at the same time ravaging the Swedish coasts, while an allied army of Saxons and Danes under Frederick William was investing Stralsund. Charles signalized his return by taking command of the beleagured garrison, defending the place till the walls were blown up and the outworks reduced to ashes. He then crossed the Baltic, landing safely in Skaania, although Tordenskiold was scouring the seas to prevent his passage. The king now took up

his abode at Lund, both because he wished to be near the seat of war, and also because he did not care to return to his capital till he had retrieved his fortunes. His presence in the country, however, forced the nobles to refrain from any further attempts to secure peace, and imparted new courage to the lower classes, who, in their love and devotion to their idolized king, were ready to risk their all at his behest. But men fit for service were scarce in the land, and there was no money. Accordingly Charles proceeded to impress lads of fifteen into the ranks, while his minister, Görtz, contrived to raise funds by putting the coinage on a copper basis and selling to foreigners all the silver taken from the royal mines.

During the severe winter of 1716, the Sound being frozen over, Charles determined to lead an army into Sjaelland and to invade the Danish Islands, but a thaw intervening, Denmark escaped. He now directed his attack against Norway, advancing upon Christiania; but meeting with more opposition than he had calculated upon, he fell back and laid siege to the fortress of Frederiksten, near Frederikshald. No better success awaited him there, however, for the citizens under the guidance of the brothers Peder and Hans Kolbjörnsson, setting fire to their town, drove the Swedes out of their quarters, and at length forced them to give up the siege.

At this moment of disaster the war seemed likely to take on an entirely new character. Peter the Great, dissatisfied with his allies and repulsed in his attempt to enter into an arrangement with the French regency, felt that he could best secure the conquests which he had made at Charles XII.'s expense by assisting the latter against his other foes. At the moment of Charles's renewal of the investment of Frederikshald, with an army of 30,000, his minister, Görtz, who had already entered into alliance with Alberoni, Elizabeth Farnese's minister of state, was scheming with the tsar at Aaland a hostile combination against the rest of northern Europe. All these plans proved futile, however, when on the morning of December 11, 1718, Charles XII. was struck down by a cannon shot before the Swedish trenches at Frederikshald. The most renowned of Scandinavian kings was but thirty-six at the moment of his death. With him perished the military greatness of his kingdom and the absolute power of the Swedish monarchy, the former giving way to the rising greatness of Prussia and Rus-

sia, the latter to the anarchy of an aristocratic régime, whose beneficiaries, however, designated it "the era of liberty."

"Almost all his actions," says Voltaire of Charles XII., "border on the marvelous. Perhaps he was the only man, most certainly the only king, that ever lived without weaknesses. He carried all the virtues of the hero to such an excess as rendered them no less dangerous than the opposite vices. His resolution, hardened into obstinacy, occasioned his misfortunes in the Ukraine, and detained him five years in Turkey. His liberality, degenerating into profusion, ruined Sweden. His courage, pushed to the length of temerity, was the cause of his death; and, during the last years of his reign, the means he employed to support his authority differ little from tyranny. His great qualities, any one of which would have been sufficient to immortalize another prince, proved pernicious to his country. He never was the aggressor; but, in taking vengeance on those who had injured him, his resentment got the better of his prudence. He was the first man who ever aspired to the title of conqueror without the least desire of enlarging his dominions. . . . An extraordinary, rather than a great, man, and more worthy to be admired than imitated."

Yet despite the disaster that Charles's astounding career spelled for his realm, he remains to-day the best loved of Swedish rulers, and his era is still harkened back to as *Karolinska tiden*—Karl's time. His remains were buried in the Riddarholmkirka, where his mortuary chapel, with its moldering trophies, stands opposite the grave of his great predecessor and model in war, Gustavus Adolphus.

In more than one respect Charles XII.'s reign meant the end of the "era of grandeur" for Sweden. Even at the beginning of this period the reserves were in the ranks; yet levy succeeded levy until the country was virtually depleted of mature men and agriculture was threatened with ruin. The continuance of war, with the license which the laws of war at that day accorded freebooters, confined maritime commerce to infrequent and precarious ventures; in consequence ensued not only the impoverishment of the country, but the wreck of the royal finances. The occupation by Russia of the Baltic provinces of itself cut the revenues of the realm in half; with the disappearance of commerce this half declined to a yet smaller fraction, a process which additional and more onerous imposts only hastened. The royal exchequer succeeded, however,

in revenging itself completely upon the nation at large when Görtz brought the coinage to a copper basis. Industrial recuperation seemed impossible.

At the moment of entering upon his fatal career, as he was leaving Sweden, Charles had charged the Knights' House—*Riddarhuss*—with the public administration, but, in excess of jealousy for his absolute prerogative, bestowed upon this body only a minimum of discretion and no power of initiation. His imprisonment at Bender was, therefore, of more than ordinary consequence from a governmental standpoint. The outcome of the exigencies of the situation was the very thing that Charles had thought to guard against: for the Knights were fairly compelled to assume and exercise the prerogative. The Knights' House gave, however, small promise of remaining the residence of sovereignty. Charles's absence was making the question of the succession more important every day, and since he was without either sons or brothers, and there was therefore no legal heir, the settlement of this question would devolve upon the diet. It is true that Charles had two sisters, and that by the legislation of Charles IX. females might inherit the throne. But another law required that the marriage of an heir to the throne must be made only with the consent of the diet, a requirement with which both Charles's sisters, Hedvig Sofia and Ulrica, the latter the wife of Frederick of Hesse, had failed to comply. The diet was, therefore, as far as the strict letter of the law went, perfectly free to choose between Ulrica and Hedvig Sofia's heir, Charles Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, or, perhaps, to pass them both by. Charles's necessities upon his return, the unpopularity of his alien minister, Görtz, and finally the monarch's intestacy, still further fortified the position of the anti-monarchical aristocracy. Ulrica was given the crown January, 1719, but was compelled to consent to govern "according to the will of the diet," and in token of her good faith to acquiesce in the execution of Görtz on trumped-up charges.

The act of May 2, 1720, is the landmark that sets off the new régime. In February Ulrica had, with the permission of the diet, transferred the royal power to her husband, who thereupon became Frederick I. of Sweden. By the act in question the new king withdrew all claims to absolute power—*Konunga forsakran*—the monarchy was made elective again, and the supreme authority was, in word, conferred upon the diet; in fact, however, it passed to a yet

more oligarchical, though less unwieldy body, a secret committee composed of fifty nobles, twenty-five of the clergy and twenty-five burghers, the fourth estate being entirely ignored.

Yet the defects of the new constitution were not at first apparent. This was the epoch when the idea of benevolent monarchy held sway in Europe: the time when the pursuit of peace and commerce comprised the policy of nations wearied by a half century of war. In England, Walpole was the great peace minister; in France, Fleury; in Sweden, Arvid Horn, Charles XII.'s old commander. Horn began his chancellorship by establishing friendly relations with Russia and giving assurances of Sweden's continued good-will for England. The Peace of Nystad, between Russia and Sweden—1721—terminated a series of treaties wherein are embodied the final results of Charles XII.'s wars. Hanover became the possessor of Bremen and Verden; Prussia obtained the eastern half of Swedish Pomerania, with the islands of Rygen and Usedom and the towns of Stettin and Dantzig; Frederick of Denmark was permitted to sever Slesvig from the holdings of Charles XII.'s ally, the Duke of Holstein, and to incorporate it with Denmark; Augustus of Saxony again became king of Poland; and, most important of all, Russia obtained Ingermannland, Esthonia, Livonia, and Karelia, and subsequently, in 1729, Viborg also. The worst fears of Gustavus Adolphus had been realized: Russia had become the leading Baltic power and a standing menace to the independence of Sweden.

In return for these sacrifices abroad, Sweden saw her trade expanded under the benevolent patronage of the government; industry reorganized; skilled foreign workmen encouraged to settle in the country; new agricultural products introduced, most important of which was the potato—that antidote of famine; the laws codified; administration systematized; and taxation lightened. Fortunate had it been for Sweden had the course of events been allowed to continue in the channel devised by Horn and his followers, the *Nattmösser,* the "Night Caps." Such was not to be the case, however. Opposed to Horn's cautious policy of peace and internal development was the remnant of the faction of the diet which had unsuccessfully espoused Hedvig Sofia's claims to the throne. By 1738 this faction had become a powerful party, the *Hattar,* the "Hats," under the leadership of Count Gyllenborg. The language used by the Hats was that of denunciation of the

Peace of Nystad, of reminiscence of Sweden's departed grandeur, of gratitude to France. Its real motive was greed for more French gold, of which its members' pockets were already full. The meeting of the diet of 1738 turned out to be a remarkable event. From 1736 a war had been going on between Turkey, on the one side, and Russia and Austria on the other. A considerable, if not the complete, dismemberment of the Ottoman empire was presaged. This, however, would have been entirely to the detriment of France, whose faithful bulwark against the empire the infidel had been since the day when Francis I. shocked Christian Europe by appearing in alliance with Suleiman the Magnificent, and whose practical monopoly of the rich commerce of the Levant rested upon Turkish concessions. To Fleury, therefore, who was still bent upon keeping France out of war, occurred the brilliant idea of fighting the battles of the most Christian monarch "by procuration." The members of the Swedish diet proved most responsive to the efforts of Saint-Severin, the French ambassador at Stockholm. Of the 700 members of that body, only 100 rejected the bribes offered them.[5] The *coup d'état* thus brought about was complete. Horn gave way to Gyllenborg, who became chancellor. The Night Caps were excluded from the secret committee. Sweden entered into a close alliance with France, whereby the latter was to pay the former an annual sum of 300,000 crowns for the rehabilitation of the Swedish army and navy.

Sweden was now but the pawn of France on the international chessboard. France's next step was to bring about a *rapprochement* between Sweden and Turkey. Major Malcolm Sinclair undertook the mission to Constantinople, but while on his way thither was murdered, presumably at the instigation of the tsaritsa's government. At the same moment (1739) the Peace of Belgrade brought the Russo-Turkish war to a close in a manner most disappointing to the Russians, but it freed Russia's hands to seek compensation at the expense of Sweden. Moreover, the War of the Austrian Succession, breaking out in 1740, with Frederick the Great's invasion of Silesia, France was confronted with a great temptation to expand at the expense of the Hapsburgs, Fleury's policy went by the board, and Louis XV., entering into the Treaty of Nymphenberg (May, 1741) for the dismemberment of Austria, was quite willing to sacrifice Sweden to Russia for the nonce, so long as the latter were kept occupied. The Swedish forces, taking

[5] Arthur Hassall: "The Balance of Power," p. 124. (1896.)

the initiative, met with swift disaster. The occupation of Finland by the Russians was followed by a terrible defeat of the Swedes at Vilmanstrand, and by the capitulation of the Swedish army at Helsingfors. To appease the exasperated nation, the cowardly Hat government consented to the execution of Levenhaupt and Buddenbrock. Meanwhile French diplomacy at St. Petersburg had brought the Princess Elizabeth to the throne and had made Bestuzhev her minister of state. A negotiation between Sweden and Russia was begun at St. Petersburg, in 1742, through the pretended mediation of Chétardie, the French ambassador. In point of fact, Chétardie was doing his utmost to discourage Russian demands and to confront the tsaritsa's government with a close alliance composed of Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey. These intrigues were revealed to Bestuzhev when a letter from the French envoy at Constantinople to Chétardie fell into his hands. Chétardie was forced to leave St. Petersburg; the Russian attack upon Sweden was renewed; the domination of the Hats was brought to a close; and, by the humiliating Treaty of Abo—1743—Sweden purchased her independence by surrendering eastern Finland, to the Kiumen River, to Russia; by guaranteeing the succession to the Swedish throne to Adolph Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp; and by accepting the temporary protection of a Russian army against Danish invasion.

The period of Adolph Frederick's reign, 1751-1771, may be briefly characterized as one of further decline of the royal power. The king was the mere puppet of the council and the nobles; the regal office existed only in name. An attempt of the patriotic Horn and Count Brahe to bolster the throne, in 1756, brought these leaders to the scaffold and exposed the king and his queen, Louisa Ulrika of Prussia, to still other humiliations. The council, again in the leash of French gold, drew Sweden into the Seven Years' War against Frederick the Great. Sweden was promised Pomerania, but the Peace of Hamburg between Prussia and Sweden (May, 1762) was based on the *status quo ante bellum.* Indeed, so contemptible a part did Swedish arms play in the great struggle that Frederick the Great sarcastically observed, when called upon to sign the Treaty of Hamburg, that "he was not aware that he had been at war with Sweden." The Hats now gave way to the Night Caps, and, in 1764, France, who, between the years 1738 and 1764, had subsidized Sweden to the amount of 50,-

000,000 livres,[6] discontinued these aids. By way of retort the Swedish diet, which came to a close October 11, 1766, passed a resolution forbidding the king to listen to any proposition looking to a reëstablishment of the system of union between France and Sweden.[7] Choiseul, Louis XVI.'s minister, now devised a "new system." The flagging spirits of the *Patriotes Chapeaux* were to be revived by the same methods by which the party had been created. This was necessary, since the *Bonnets* were in the pay of England and Russia. Moreover—and this was the innovation—the newly created patriotism was to be utilized in a *coup d'état* restoring the power of the king. Sweden, it was obvious, could never become any considerable make-weight in the European balance of power as long as her government was the sport of factions. In 1771 Vergennes came to Stockholm to carry through the new programme. The same year Adolph Frederick died.

[6] Flassan: "*Histoire raisonnée de la diplomatié française,*" vol. VI, p. 576.
[7] *Loc. cit.*, p. 580.

Chapter XVIII

BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM IN DENMARK
1648-1771

THE Denmark contemporary with successors of Gustavus Adolphus presented little or nothing to excite the wonder or admiration of foreign nations. In proportion as Sweden monopolized the attention of Europe and made the great powers value her alliance, Denmark had continued to fall away from her former reputation. Internally there was a similar decline, for when her Christian IV. died, in 1648, baffled by the nobles in all his efforts to benefit his kingdom, and crushed under the weight of their tyranny, it seemed as if Denmark must inevitably sink into the condition of an oligarchy, and that monarchy should cease to have even a nominal existence in that kingdom.

Some months elapsed after the death of Christian IV. before the council would formally elect his son Frederick to the throne. Only at the close of the year did the nobles offer to proclaim him king of Denmark, on condition that he sign the charter which they submitted. The terms which they imposed were harder than any ever before imposed upon a candidate for the Danish throne, but Frederick, seeing no present way of escape, agreed to them, and thus found himself a mere puppet in the hands of his council, without whose consent he could not leave the country, make peace or war, or exercise any administrative function of importance. While Frederick and his ambitious queen, Sofia Amalia, were thus reduced to figureheads in the state, the Ulfelds, by their wealth and power, were able to eclipse the court both in the magnificence of their entertainments and in the number of their attendants. These circumstances it was, as well as the beauty, wit, and accomplishments of Eleanor Kristine Ulfeld, the king's sister, which, by arousing the jealousy of the queen, made her determined not to rest till she had procured the downfall of these haughty rivals of her own royalty. Ulfeld's conduct in negotiating the peace with Holland, by which the Dutch were allowed to escape the Sound dues on the payment of a sum of money, and his administration

of the finances under the late king, afforded the queen her opportunity. The unfortunate noble, feeling it indiscreet to await the formalities of a trial, fled, with his family, from Copenhagen by night, and after wandering extensively in Holland and elsewhere, went finally to Sweden, where, as we have seen, he became an insistent and vindictive counselor of war upon his native land.

It would be impossible to conceive a more hopeless position than the one in which King Frederick III. of Denmark found himself, in 1660, at the close of the war with Sweden, an account of which was given in a previous chapter. The kingdom was laid waste, the treasury was empty, and the monarchy on its last legs, when King Frederick, in his great need, called together a meeting of the estates in Copenhagen, and laid before them a true account of his necessities. The nobles, as usual, tried to shift all responsibility from themselves to the other orders of the state, and appealed to their special privileges of exemption from taxation. This unworthy conduct roused the anger of the burghers, who were alive to the fact that it was owing to them alone that the kingdom had not been subjugated by the Swedish king in the late war. Accordingly, when the nobles refused to contribute anything toward defraying the expenses of the siege, the town council of Copenhagen, headed by the burgomaster, Hans Nansen, made an appeal to the king for a curtailment of the privileges of the nobles. The clergy under the guidance of the learned and ambitious court preacher, Bishop Svane, seconded their proposals, and joined with them in a demand for an inquiry into the terms upon which the crown fiefs were held, with the ultimate intention of having tenures held gratuitously canceled and disposed of to the highest bidder, without regard to rank. While these proceedings were taking place within the hall of assembly, the gates of the city were closed by order of Hans Nansen, and a strong civic guard drawn around the doors of the building. The nobles, taken by surprise, and finding that several influential members of their own body had gone over to the side of the burghers, receded from their refusal to pay the taxes. When, however, Nansen and Svane next proposed to make the crown hereditary in the descendants of the king, whether male or female, they opposed the motion with bitter expressions of dissent. This important measure was nevertheless passed by the burghers and clergy at another meeting of the diet, held on October 8, and when the nobles still withheld their assent, they

were informed that every door of exit was held by troops and that the whole of the city guard was ready to rush to arms on the first sound of the alarm bell. Under these circumstances the nobles found themselves forced to submit, and on October 18, 1660, Frederick III. received the homage of the several orders of the state as hereditary king of Denmark.

Frederick III. was a silent, cautious man, who knew how to keep his own counsel, and while he appeared to be wholly ignorant of, and indifferent to, all that was being done by his partisans, Svane and Nansen, he had in fact coöperated with them from the first through his secretary, Gabel; and when he once found himself master of his kingdom, he resented the slightest attempt to circumscribe his powers. Gabel had had the *finesse* to propose that the question of the form of government which the king ought to observe under the changed condition of the monarchy should be left for discussion till the next meeting of the diet. This proposal being agreed to, Frederick took care to prevent all future opposition by bribery or force. Thus he commanded the university representative, Professor Villum Lange, to absent himself from the assembly, as he had been known to express the opinion that Denmark, like all other civilized monarchies, ought to have a written constitution of its own. At the same time the queen and court party labored assiduously to put down all opposition, and the result of their combined efforts was to secure a large number of signatures among the nobles, clergy, and burghers of the different provinces to a charter which proclaimed the absolute independence of the hereditary sovereignty settled upon the king and his heirs. Thus, by a swift and bloodless revolution, the fundamental principle of the Danish kingship was entirely transformed and one of the most strictly bound elective monarchies in the world was converted into the most absolute hereditary state in Christendom.

With Frederick III.'s acquisition of independent power a new system of administration was introduced into Denmark, the council of state giving way to six "colleges" or offices for the transaction of home and foreign affairs. These changes and all the improvements made in the conduct of the universities and of military and naval affairs and finance, were mainly due to the able counsels of the king's secretary, Peder Schumacher (Count Griffenfeld), a man of humble origin, who by his talents raised himself to the position of most powerful minister of the crown, both under Frederick

and his son, Christian V. After being created a count of the empire, and receiving every mark of confidence and distinction in the power of the king to bestow upon him, the jealousy of his many enemies at court brought about his ruin. Being accused of treason, he was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted at the scaffold to close imprisonment for life, and for eighteen years Count Griffenfeld was kept in confinement, being liberated only the year before his death in 1699; yet Denmark never had a greater minister nor one who met more unworthy returns from all the benefits he conferred upon his country.

Frederick used the extraordinary powers of which he became so suddenly possessed with great moderation, for the most part. The few acts of cruelty that mar his reign seem to have been instigated by his vindictive queen. At one point, however, his policy was seriously defective: he paid small heed to the genuine grievances of his peasantry. Their frequent appeals for a mitigation of the heavy burdens and forced services by which they were oppressed met with no consideration whatever from the king. The power of the nobles over this class had not been interfered with when they lost many of their long-established prerogatives, and so completely were they in the power of their masters that, in accordance with the Danish game laws, the lord of the manor might still put out the eyes of the peasant who shot a deer on his lands, or might even hang him. In Norway the peasantry never sank to so low a condition as in Denmark, although after the final union of the two kingdoms, when Danish nobles began to obtain fiefs and secure a footing in the country, the subjects of this ancient monarchy lost many of their rights under the careless rule of their Danish kings.

Christian V., who succeeded his father, Frederick III., in 1670, was the first king to mount the Danish throne without having to agree to some compact or other derogatory to his authority. Christian's first thought after his accession was to create a brilliant court after the fashion of that of "*le Grand Monarque.*" But many of the heads of the noblest families in Denmark had withdrawn themselves from the capital, where they no longer exercised the influence which they had enjoyed in former times, and were endeavoring to show their indifference to the court by remaining on their own lands. The young king resolved, therefore, to create a new order of nobility, more brilliant and distinguished than the

old. Previous to this time hereditary titles were unknown among the Danish nobility, but Christian V., who was thoroughly German in all his feelings, now, by one absolute decree, established all the titles and grades of rank recognized among the higher classes of Germany; and soon his court was filled with counts and barons, who, on the payment of certain fees, had obtained with the newly adopted rank many seignorial rights which had never been exercised by the older nobles of Denmark. The latter now saw themselves supplanted at court, and in the service of the state, by a band of German adventurers, who had procured their dignity by money and not birth. All the ceremonials and rigid etiquette of Versailles were adopted by the Danish king, and, to complete his new system of courtly favor, two orders of knighthood were established known as the Dannebrog and the Elephant, in the former of which a white ribbon was used and in the latter a blue one.

The expenses of the court rose far above any hitherto known in Denmark. In fact it was the difficulty of finding money to gratify his love of display and the unpalatable advice which Griffenfeld gave Christian, in regard to the necessity for retrenchment, that first brought that minister into disfavor with his sovereign. His counsel that Christian should remain neutral in the war which had broken out, in 1675, between France and Holland, irritated the young king still more, who, thirsting for distinction, rushed into the conflict and took up arms with the emperor and Elector of Brandenburg against Louis XIV. By this alliance Denmark was brought into hostilities with Sweden, which was the staunch ally of France, and soon the province of Skaania became the scene of war. The two young northern kings, Christian of Denmark and Charles XI. of Sweden, commanded in person when their armies met at Lund in 1676. Christian was unable to secure a foothold; for though success generally attended the Danish fleet, as Griffenfeld had foreseen, Denmark could effect nothing against the ally of France. In 1679, when Louis XIV. had concluded secret treaties with the emperor and with Holland and Brandenburg, there was no alternative for Christian but to accede to the peace proposed by the French king by which all that had been taken by Denmark from Sweden had to be restored to the latter power. Denmark, therefore, gained nothing by this costly war, except military experience and the perfection of her army and navy.

As soon as peace was concluded with France, the finance min-

ister, Sigfrid von Pless, hired some of the troops to the English king to be used against the Irish, and others to the emperor for his wars against the Turks. But this short-sighted policy, while it drained the country of some of her best men—for only a small number returned to their homes—brought meager returns to the depleted treasury. On the death of the king, in 1699, the state was found to be hampered with a debt of more than one million rix dollars, notwithstanding the flourishing condition of trade.

During this reign the eminent Danish astronomer, Ole (Olaus) Römer, did good service to his country by the improvements which he was able to institute in the coinage and in the regulation of the weights and measures, by repairing the public roads and the planting of mile posts and sign posts. While holding the place of chief of the police department of Copenhagen he also organized an excellent system of lighting the streets, established an efficient nightwatch and a fire brigade, and furnished plans for the construction of better fire engines than any that had yet been in use. He was at a later period named chancellor of the exchequer, and an assessor of the supreme court of justice, and was engaged for seven years in compiling a great land book, in which all land was assessed, in 1684, on the basis of a certain mode of measurement known as Hartkorn Standard. The bigotry of the king and of the court clergy was the means of depriving Denmark of the labors of many thousands of Huguenots, who, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, petitioned for leave to settle in the country. This was sternly refused, and hence these industrious men carried their skill to other lands, where no obstacles stood in the way of a profession of the doctrines of Calvin. The condition of the peasants was made so much worse by the creation of the numerous countships and baronies of the new system of nobility, which gave the holders full power over the serfs upon their lands, that many of the younger men left the country. At length a law was passed decreeing that all bondar who did not marry and remain settled on the estate to which they belonged should be enrolled as soldiers, while any peasant who left his master's service without leave might be sent to the hulks to work in irons for a year. The consequence of these cruel measures was that the poor fell into a state of dependence scarcely better than slavery, while the land was only half cultivated, and the owners became impoverished.

On the death of Christian V., in 1699, after a reign of nearly thirty years, his eldest son was proclaimed king under the title of Frederick IV. This prince, who, in the latter part of his life, showed great capacity for ruling and considerable practical knowledge of all the details of government, had been so neglected by his father in his childhood and youth that he had not even been taught to spell or to express himself correctly, and had never been permitted to take any part in public affairs until within a few days of Christian's death, when the old king, either because he was too feeble to resist, or because he repented of his unworthy conduct to his son, now twenty-eight years of age, summoned him for the first time to take his place at the council board.

Frederick's first measure after his coronation was to plunge the kingdom into an unnecessary war with Sweden by pouncing upon the territories of Duke Frederick IV. of Gottorp, the near kinsman and close ally of the young Swedish king, Charles XII. The Danish king had been deluded by the youth and inexperience of his cousin, but he was soon undeceived. In his treaty of peace with his namesake Frederick insured the latter hereditary sovereignty over his duchy. The final status of Holstein-Gottorp was not yet settled permanently, however. In 1702 Duke Frederick IV. died. Count Görtz, one of the members of the council of regency, together with the widowed duchess, Hedvig Sofia, sister of Charles XII., ruled the state during the minority of the young duke, Charles Frederick. Görtz, who afterward, as prime minister of Charles XII. of Sweden, did all in his power to bring about the ruin of the Danish monarchy, was resolved upon separating the province entirely from Denmark. He roused the anger of King Frederick by causing certain public notices, which referred to the joint government of the king and the young duke, to be issued in the name of the latter only. Later he had the duke's name printed in the same type as the king's instead of having the royal signature, as was usual in such cases, struck off in larger letters. This frivolous dispute, known as the "type quarrel," gave rise to more serious disagreements and led in 1721 to the entire overrunning of the duchy of Holstein-Gottorp by the Danish forces. By the Treaty of Nystad, of that same year, Slesvig was parted from Holstein and reunited to the Danish crown lands, from which it had been separated since 1386, the time of Margaret of Pomerania.

The internal rule of Frederick IV. of Denmark was marked

by industry, common sense, and moral rectitude in striking contrast to that of his father. By his careful economy in his court and in the various departments of the government, Frederick succeeded, notwithstanding the cost of the long war with Sweden and the extravagant tastes of his queen, Louisa of Mecklenburg, who prompted the erection of magnificent palaces, both at Fredericksborg and Fredensborg, in reducing to a small sum the national debt left behind by Christian V. Besides, the reign of Frederick was visited by several public calamities, which called for the prompt and liberal aid of the state. In 1710 a frightful pestilence cut off 25,000 people in Copenhagen alone, and, in 1728, a destructive fire laid waste two-thirds of the city, costing the lives of many of the citizens and reducing to ashes many of the principal buildings, among others the magnificent University Library, with most of its rich stores of oriental manuscripts and other valuable works. In 1717 an inundation destroyed large tracts of the rich pasture lands of the Ditmarshers. In all these nationl misfortunes Frederick evinced the greatest liberality toward the sufferers and took means to relieve their distress to the utmost of his power. Frederick was also the first sovereign who endeavored to extend a knowledge of the Gospel to his heathen colonial subjects by organizing missions for their conversion and instruction. In 1705 the missionary Ziegenbalg was sent by him to the Danish trading station at Tranquebar, in India, to teach the Hindoos, and in 1721 Hans Egede, with his wife, went to Greenland to preach to the natives, who, since the Black Death in 1350, had been apparently forgotten by the mother country. Frederick caused the town of Godthaab to be founded in 1721 and a Greenland trading company to be incorporated in 1723, and thus this long-neglected colony was reopened to the rest of the world.

Frederick also devoted considerable attention to his fleet and was well repaid by the able body of seamen which the Danish navy possessed at the close of his reign. The gallant deeds of his brave admiral, Peder Vessel, better known as Tordenskiold (Thundershield), recall, by their daring success and extraordinary character, the memory of those northern sea-kings of old, whose names, like his own, were a shield to their friends and a thunderbolt to their foes. Frederick unfortunately followed the precedent set by numerous impecunious monarchs of the time and let out for hire his armies to other princes who needed and could afford to pay

for foreign auxiliaries. Thus 12,000 Danes were lent to England for ten years, to fight in the War of the Spanish Succession, while 8000 swelled the ranks of the imperialists at the same time, and the money which they too often purchased with their lives was used by the king to pay off the arrears of an old debt due Holland.

Frederick IV. tried to improve the condition of the peasantry by abolishing serfdom. These measures, however, failed largely of efficacy because of the organization of a country militia, which the great landowners were called upon to maintain at their own expense, and which they filled up by forcing into the ranks any of their peasants whom they wished to be rid of or to punish for insubordination. His measures for the education of the poorer classes were more immediately successful. At his death, in 1730, free schools had been so generally opened in all parts of his kingdom that no sovereign of those times numbered so large a proportion of educated persons among his subjects as did the Danish king.

The reign of Christian VI. was remarkable chiefly for its peculiar un-Danish and pronouncedly German character. The queen, Sophia Magdalena of Kulmbach-Bayreuth, who, in her dislike for everything Danish even tried to prevent the crown prince being taught his native tongue, exerted her great influence over the king in filling all offices of trust with Germans, and in banishing from the court the language and usages of the country. She had also a fatal mania for building, which led her to pull down one palace only to erect another on some site that pleased her better. Thus she demolished the noble castle of Axelhus in Copenhagen, which Frederick IV. had restored and enlarged at great expense, and substituted for it the enormous building known as Christiansborg, which cost near 3,000,000 rix dollars, and was seven years in building. Likewise, to gratify a whim of hers, a beautiful hunting palace was erected at Hirschholm, on a piece of swampy land, but the foundations soon gave way and the house had to be pulled down.

While the queen was thus indulging her expensive hobby, the king was introducing a system of bigotry and pietism to which Denmark had hitherto been an entire stranger, and which soon conducted into the kingdom the most deplorable hypocrisy and intolerance. A general church inspection college was established in 1737, which may be regarded as a Protestant court of inquisition,

for the duties of its directors consisted in taking cognizance of the doctrines and lives of all preachers and teachers in the kingdom, watching over the proper performance of church services, and inspecting all works that passed through the Danish press. Heavy penalties were inflicted, and severe reproofs were publicly given from the pulpits in accordance with the decisions of this inquisitorial tribunal. Neglect of attendance at church was punished by money fines, or, in default of payment, by the long-disused penalty of standing in the stocks, which were for that purpose erected before every church door. All public amusements were forbidden, together with recreations such as riding or driving on a Sunday; all the old national games and festivities were put down as "things offensive to God and injurious to the workingman." A royal decree was drawn up for the maintenance of household piety and domestic virtue in Iceland, in which the islanders were warned to abstain from reading idle stories, and so-called sagas which were not "seemly for a Christian soul's entertainment and were a cause of offense to the Holy Ghost." The result of these coercive measures was to create great dissensions in churches and families, and to give rise to a party who, in spite of all restrictions, showed utter indifference to religion and tried by ridicule to bring the pietists into discredit.

When, by the death of Christian VI., in 1746, his eldest son, Frederick V., ascended the throne, all the ordinances of the former reign were annulled, and brilliancy and liberty were restored to the court under the direction of the good-humored king and his lively queen, Louisa, daughter of George II. of England. The royal couple, by their youth, beauty, and affability, won the hearts of the people, and the nation at large rejoiced without concealment at their release from the puritanical thraldom in which the late king had held them. At first the reaction seemed harmless and even beneficial, and, as long as Queen Louisa lived, the amusements of the court were kept within the bounds of moderation, but after her death, in 1751, and when another queen, Juliana Maria of Brunswick, had taken her place, greater luxury began to prevail, and in the attempt to imitate the sumptuous habits of the French, the Danish royal family were led to incur expenses for which the ordinary resources of the crown were quite inadequate. Frederick himself, toward the close of his life, fell into inebriety, which, coupled with his easy good-nature, often made him a tool

in the hands of unworthy favorites. But although he was not himself an active or efficient ruler, he had the good fortune to secure able ministers, among whom the most distinguished were Counts Schimmelmann and Bernstorf. To the latter, who subscribed to the tenets and philosophy of eighteenth-century benevolent monarchy, Denmark owes a large debt of gratitude, for to him are mainly due all the great improvements in manufactures, trade, and agriculture which distinguish this reign. He encouraged learning, established societies for the promotion of science, invited learned teachers, as Mallet and Schlegel, into the country; was the means of sending Niebuhr to Arabia to make archæological researches; coöperated with the Norwegian Holberg, the greatest dramatic writer of his time, in the reorganization of the noble academy of Sorö near Copenhagen; founded hospitals in the chief towns of the kingdom, and in many other ways used his great influence in promoting the general education of the people.

The Gottorp princes, through the accession of the head of their house to the throne of Russia, had come into the control of great power and influence. Charles Peter Ulrik, who assumed the title of Peter III., entertained a strong resentment toward Denmark on account of the losses inflicted upon his family by the incorporation of the Slesvig territories with the Danish crown lands. In 1762 he sent an army into Mecklenburg with orders to advance upon the duchies, and openly announced his intention of driving the Danish royal family out of Europe and forcing them to take refuge in their East Indian settlement at Tranquebar. The danger was great and the Danes were in daily expectation of hearing that the fleet, which had been equipped in haste to defend the coasts, had come to blows with the Russian squadron lying in wait for it in the Baltic, when their apprehensions were suddenly set at rest by the news of the murder of Peter, on July 14, 1762. The empress, Catherine II., who succeeded her husband, at once concluded a peace with Denmark, by which she renounced, in the name of her son, all claims to the Gottorp lands in Holstein in exchange for Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. This treaty, which was brought about by the able diplomacy of Count Bernstorf, relieved Denmark of the most formidable danger that her independence as a nation had ever encountered.

Christian VII. was but seventeen years of age when he succeeded to the crown in 1766. He was obstinate and morose of

disposition and was weak both in body and mind. His distrust of his stepmother, the dowager-queen Juliana Maria, induced him to dismiss from his service all who had enjoyed favor during the former reign and to fill their places with new favorites. Thus, within the first few years of his reign, Count Bernstorf, Admiral Danneskjold-Samsoe, to whom the Danish navy owed much of its efficiency, and several other able ministers of the crown, had been driven out of the country, and all the power of the state thrown into the hands, first of Count Holk, a young man of vicious habits, who did much to injure the king in health and character, and afterward into those of Brandt and Struensee. These two men, whose names are intimately associated with the extraordinary events which in the course of a few years brought about their own ruin and that of the young queen, the beautiful Caroline Matilda, sister of George III. of England, and threw the king into the power of his enemies, were by no means of equal capacity or like responsibility. Johan Frederick Struensee, the originator and guiding spirit in all the despotic measures in which both were engaged, was a man of great natural ability and extensive knowledge. At the time he was appointed private physician to Christian VII. during the tour which that king made in 1768 through the principal countries of Europe, he had already acquired considerable reputation, both in his profession and by his literary productions, and when the University of Oxford, in the course of the same year, conferred the degree of D. C. L. on King Christian, they gave that of M. D. to Struensee, "in recognition of his great merits in science and literature." By his address this able man soon supplanted the favorite, Count Holk, and succeeded in persuading the king to recall from banishment his former chamberlain, Enevold von Brandt, and Count Rantzau-Ascheberg, a dismissed minister, whose acquaintance Struensee had made in Paris, and on whose gratitude he thought he might rely. The new favorite soon appeared to enjoy the confidence of the young queen as thoroughly as that of her half-imbecile husband, and rising rapidly from one degree of power to another, was nominated, in the summer of 1771, to the rank of prime minister of the privy council, a dignity hitherto unknown in Denmark. From that moment his word was supreme, for instead of acting in concert with the various ministerial colleges, as had been customary in the case of other Danish ministers of the crown, Struensee governed by means of "cabinet

orders," signed only by himself, which had the same weight as if they had been royal decrees bearing the sovereign's signature.

Struensee's extraordinary talents, liberal ideas, and great capacity for business, joined to his rapid and unhesitating decision in forming a judgment, enabled him to introduce new and better systems of government into many of the departments of the public service. He improved the routine of the law courts, organized police and sanitary reforms, established freedom of the press, and made much-needed retrenchments in the expenses of the court and of all the public offices. On the other hand, his indolent conduct, his contempt for all the observances and doctrines of religion, his ignorance of the language and habits of the country over which he ruled, his headstrong haste in effecting changes, and the suspicion that he was making himself and his friends rich at the expense of the working classes, who were heavily oppressed with taxes, all concurred in raising a host of enemies against him in every rank of the community. The queen-dowager and her son, the so-called "Hereditary Prince," Frederick, watched the minister's rapid rise with fear and indignation. When, therefore, on the occasion of some disturbances among the sailors in the docks, Struensee gave evidence of want of personal courage and presence of mind, they thought the moment favorable to join forces with Count Rantzau-Ascheberg and others, who had been estranged from him by his arrogance. A plot was soon hatched. On the night of January 16, 1772, the conspirators forced their way into the king's bedroom, and by their representations regarding the queen's conduct and her intimacy with Struensee, obtained Christian's signature to an order for her arrest and that of the minister and of Brandt. The unhappy Caroline Matilda, who only three hours before had closed a court ball in a dance with Prince Frederick, was awakened out of her sleep by an armed guard, who commanded her to rise and dress herself in all haste for a journey. The same night she was conveyed in a closed carriage to the castle of Cronborg, near Elsinore, without being allowed to see her two children, the elder of whom, the Crown Prince Frederick, was only three years old, and the younger, a daughter, still an infant in arms. After a formal deed of separation had passed between the king and herself she was removed from Cronborg through the influence of her brother, King George III. of England, and conveyed in an English man-of-war to Zelle, in Hanover, where she lived

until her death, in 1775, engaged in works of charity among the poor and sick.

Struensee and Brandt had, in the meantime, been condemned to death for treason, and sentenced to lose their right hands before they were beheaded, which sentence was publicly executed outside the gates of Copenhagen, on April 28, 1772; but beyond these two victims this eventful revolution was free from bloodshed. The king's constantly increasing feebleness of mind and body left him a mere tool in the hands of the queen-dowager and her son, who, in fact, although not in name, ruled the kingdom till the year 1784, when the Crown Prince Frederick attained the legal majority of sixteen, and at once claimed the right of acting as regent or joint ruler with his father. During the period of his minority the affairs of the state had been for the most part in the hands of the hereditary prince's friend, Count Ove Högh Guldberg, who had been a chief agent in bringing about the downfall of Struensee, and whose policy was in every respect the opposite of that of the minister whom he had ruined. Under Guldberg all the laws, whether good or bad, that had been passed under Struensee's ministry were set aside. The use of the Danish language was encouraged. The German influence in the country was checked by the appointment to the public service of only native born or naturalized subjects of Denmark. Less commendable was the issue of vast quantities of paper money which threw both the public and private finances into frightful disorder and disturbed both the peace and the credit of the nation for many years.

It may be well to summarize the principal events of the period lying between the Treaty of Westphalia and the accession of Gustavus III. to the Swedish throne. In 1660 Frederick III. established absolute monarchy in Denmark and in 1693 Charles XI. accomplished practically the same result in Sweden. The achievement of Charles XI., however, barely survived the reign of his successor, while that of Frederick III. was destined to endure for nearly two centuries and a half. The Treaty of Nystad, the chief event of the period under review, affecting the international status of the two nations, was a triumph for Denmark and a defeat for Sweden. The charter of 1720 gave over the latter power to an oligarchy once more, the fatuous and corrupt policy of which, after Arvid Horn's death, not only accelerated the decline of Sweden's prestige, but greatly hampered Swedish participation in the con-

spicuous commercial development of the eighteenth century. In Denmark, on the other hand, with the accession of Frederick IV., in 1699, a monarch avowing, and for the greater part living up to, the best tenets of benevolent despotism came to the throne, to foster the growth of his realm in every way. His successors were not invariably as wise as himself, but in the famous Struensee, and later in Bernstorf, the patriarchal view of monarchy again found able exponents, much to the advantage of the Danish people. The eighteenth century is decidedly a period of compensation to Denmark for her previous eclipse by her rival and the dull respectability of her rulers in the preceding period as contrasted with the brilliant versatility of the wearer of the Swedish diadem.

PART IV

MODERN SCANDINAVIA. 1771—

Chapter XIX

SCANDINAVIA IN THE AGE OF POLITICAL REVOLUTION 1771-1844

PRINCE GUSTAVUS was in Paris when the news of his father's death reached him, but he returned posthaste to Stockholm to receive the crown. In his person a native dynasty once more ascended the Swedish throne. He was now twenty-five years of age, well educated, handsome of person, graceful of manner, affable, and charming of address, accomplished and eloquent. But his imagination was dangerously apt to mislead him and he had an exaggerated idea of his royal character, wherefore he was controlled by an ardent desire to emulate the renown of his predecessors, and vainly fancied that he could restore Sweden to her erstwhile rank among the powers of Europe. It was in pursuance of this idea that he resolved at the outset to free himself from the thraldom of the council and nobility. A large party willing to aid in this design was at hand, the creation, in part at least, of French gold, and the diplomacy of the Count de Vergennes, who expected to see in Sweden, under the rule of a grateful despot, a more effective ally than she had proved in the régime of warring and corrupt factions. The *coup d'état* was initiated by one Captain Hellichius, who got up a mock revolt in the streets of the capital and thus furnished Gustavus with an excuse to collect a large body of troops. Suddenly the council were arrested and the diet forced, by the threat of dire consequences, to subscribe to a "new form of administration," by which it retained the right to approve or reject new taxes, and declarations of war, but surrendered all administrative prerogatives to the king.

Gustavus was a thorough-going Gallomaniac, aping French manners and patronizing French actors and dancers. French became the language of the court and of society, theaters and an opera house were opened at Stockholm, where only French pieces were given, and in all the concerns of life Gustavus tried to make himself conspicuous by his adoption of Parisian manners and by his elegance and polished taste. But his costly foreign travels, in the

course of which he squandered large sums of money on objects of art, while his subjects at home were suffering from famine, and his extravagance in raising showy regiments of horse guards merely for his own gratification, aroused, in time, much resentment among his subjects.

Gustavus was foolish enough to declare war against Russia, in 1788, hoping by this device to extricate himself from a quarrel with the diet, whose powers, curtailed though they already were, he had yet found it necessary to infringe. At the outset the absence of the Russian army, which was engaged in war with Turkey, enabled him, as he had anticipated, to advance upon St. Petersburg without being intercepted in his march. He had forgotten, however, that he would have to reckon with the diplomacy and intrigue of Catherine II. This adroit and audacious woman not only succeeded in instigating mutiny among Gustavus's officers in Finland, who forthwith refused to engage in an invasion not sanctioned by the estates, but also induced Denmark to dispatch an army against her hereditary foe while Gustavus was in Finland with the entire military defense of the Swedish realm. Never had Swedish independence been in graver peril. "The army was in open mutiny; the fleet was blockaded at Sveaborg; a Russian squadron occupied the Gulf of Bothnia: a combined Russo-Danish squadron swept the Cattegat; a Danish army was advancing upon Göteborg. . . . Confusion reigned in the capital, panic in the provinces. A perplexed senate, a treacherous nobility, a stupefied population were anxiously watching every movement of a defenseless king."[1] From his perilous plight Gustavus, who had now returned from Finland, was snatched by the loyalty of the men of Dalekarlia, who followed their monarch in a body to the relief of Göteborg. The force which Sweden was thus enabled to display, together with the intervention at this timely moment of the Prussian and English envoys, compelled Denmark to yield an armistice and to withdraw her forces from Sweden, in October, 1788. Gustavus was now at the height of his popularity, and he determined to make use of it. By the so-called "safety measures" of the same year, the work of the *coup d'état* of 1772 was completed, and Sweden was once more made an absolute monarchy. "Both revolutions can be justified on the ground that they saved Sweden" —together with the determination of England and Prussia to main-

[1] R. Nisbet Bain: "Gustavus III. and his Contemporaries," vol. II. pp. 31-32.

ASSASSINATION OF GUSTAVUS III AT A MASQUERADE HELD IN THE OPERA HOUSE OF STOCKHOLM, MARCH 16, 1792

Drawing by E. Bruening

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tain the balance of power in the Baltic—"from becoming a Russian province."[2] In the meantime the war with Russia continued. On one occasion Gustavus lost 7000 men in a sea fight; later Catherine lost 12,000, and fifty-five vessels. But in 1789 the French Revolution broke out. Both monarchs became anxious for peace. The Treaty of Verela, of 1790, was based on the *status quo ante bellum.*

Gustavus was now an absolute monarch. Why should he not become the defender of absolute monarchy? At any rate, feeling a sentimental sympathy for Marie Antoinette, he next turned his attention to assisting the first coalition in its attempt to restore the Bourbon family to the throne of France. He wished to send a fleet to ravage the French coast and even conceived the flattering notion that he might act as commander-in-chief of the Prussian and Austrian armies in their operations against the French revolutionary government. However, to carry out such grand schemes, money was needed, and upon this rock Gustavus and his subjects parted. The nobility of the former bureaucracy were ready with a conspiracy. The leaders in the plot were the Counts Ribbing, Horn, Pechlin, and Bjelke; but the person selected to carry out their design, which was to assassinate the king, was a man of inferior rank, called Ankerström, who had formerly served in the army and hated Gustavus for private reasons. On the night of March 16, 1792, at a masquerade, held in the opera house, Ankerström approached the king and discharged a pistol into his side. The intending murderer then disappeared in the crowd, while the other conspirators, disguised in black masks and cloaks, rushed in a body toward the doors of the hall. Gustavus called out as the shot struck him, "I am wounded; seize the traitor"; but when his attendants, on recognizing his voice, pressed around him, he declared that he did not think he had been hurt. The result proved that he had been fatally wounded. After suffering extreme agony for thirteen days, in consequence of the jagged and rough surface of the broken bits of lead with which the pistol had been charged, he died on March 29, 1792, at the age of forty-six.

Gustavus appointed a regency for his only son, then scarcely fourteen years old, naming his brother, Duke Charles of Soedermannland, to be president or chief director of the administration. The duke was an able, upright man, but he lacked confidence in his own judgment, a deficiency which led him to intrust many import-

[2] Hassall: "The Balance of Power," p. 385.

ant matters of state to his favorite, the haughty, overbearing Baron Reuterholm. In nearly every respect the regent reversed the policy of the late monarch, entering into amicable relations with the leaders of the French republic, and joining the Danish king in a compact of armed neutrality for the defense of the shipping of their respective kingdoms.

By these measures Sweden gave offense to Russia, which power Duke Charles greatly distrusted, and a war between the two countries was averted for the time only by the proposal of Baron Reuterholm to the Empress Catherine that the young king should marry her granddaughter, the Grand Duchess Alexandra. Gustavus obediently went to St. Petersburg with his uncle, and everything seemed settled for the betrothal of the young couple, which was to be publicly announced at a court ball. But when the evening appointed for the ceremony arrived the duke had to explain to the imperial family that his nephew had refused to sign the marriage contract, because it secured to the future queen the free exercise of her own religion and allowed her to have a chapel fitted up in accordance with the prescriptions of the Greek Church. The empress refused after that to hold any further communications with the young king, who, therefore, had to return to Sweden without celebrating his betrothal. He was able, subsequently, to satisfy his fine qualms of conscience by marrying the Princess Frederika of Baden, a Lutheran like himself.

But Gustavus, who attained his majority in 1796, was not merely bigoted; he was superstitious, and it was a great misfortune both for himself and his realm that the principal object of his superstitious abhorrence was no less a personage than Napoleon Bonaparte. At first, however, Gustavus continued the prudent policy of a neutrality friendly toward the French, that his uncle had initiated. Thus, in December, 1800, Sweden united with Denmark, Russia, and Prussia in the revival of the Northern Maritime League, the purpose of which was to resist by force England's policy of interference with neutral merchantmen upon the high seas. The league asserted that a neutral flag covered all goods not contraband of war, that a blockade to be legal must be actual, that the list of contraband articles could not be so extended as to affect greatly neutral commerce; that while a neutral vessel was usually subject to search for contraband by the warships of a belligerent, they were not so subject when under the official convoy of a neu-

tral's man-of-war. England, on the other hand, who depended upon her command of the sea to work the overthrow of Napoleon, denied, or at least violated, every one of these maxims. For the time being the Maritime League seemed likely to determine the great European contest in favor of the French republic.

In May, however, Napoleon became emperor. To Gustavus's mind his identification with the Great Beast of the Apocalypse was complete. Early in 1805 the "third coalition" was formed by England, Austria, and Russia. Sweden followed the St. Petersburg government in its desertion of the Maritime League, and definitely ranged itself with the enemies of the French empire. Austerlitz, Jena, Auerstädt, and Friedland sufficed to shatter the third coalition and also the fourth, which Sweden had allied herself with by the Treaty of Bartenstein, in April, 1807. By the Treaty of Tilsit Napoleon was able for the moment to exclude England from every port of northern Europe. Gustavus, nevertheless, continued recalcitrant and in the very face of the "Continental System" declared Göteborg an open port for the trading ships of all nations. If he could have sustained his act of defiance he would, undoubtedly, have been greatly benefiting his realm. In face of the facts, however, Gustavus's performance was suicidal. Immediately Alexander of Russia, playing the part of policeman for the continental system, declared war upon Sweden and threw an overwhelming force into Finland. The desperate valor of the Swedish forces, under Adlerkreuz, prolonged the struggle through the years 1808 and 1809. But at last the treachery of the commandant of the impregnable fortress of Sveaborg decided the fate of Finland and the Island of Aaland, and laid the whole of northern Sweden open to Russian invasion. The same year a French army, under Marshal Bruno, occupied Swedish Pomerania.

In the meantime Gustavus began a feeble attack upon the Danes along the Norwegian frontier. England dispatched forces under Sir John Moore to Sweden's assistance, while Napoleon threw an army, under General Bernadotte, into Jutland on the pretense of supporting Denmark. Gustavus at once tried to induce Moore to march into Finland against the Russians, and, when he refused, violently abused him. Even Gustavus's most loyal subjects now began to doubt his sanity. A conspiracy of a large number of officers, and headed by the Generals Adlerkreuz and Adlersparre, was formed to force him to abdicate. The object of the

conspirators was at first not merely to remove the king, but to unite Sweden and Norway under the rule of the Danish stadholder, Prince Christian Augustus of Augustenburg, who had probably given his sanction to it. At all events the prince allowed the war against Sweden to be carried on in a very desultory manner, and consented to a truce with Adlersparre, immediately following which the latter hurried to Stockholm to carry out his designs. On the evening of March 13, 1809, while Adlersparre was holding his troops under arms before the gates of Stockholm, Adlerkreuz, with six attendants, entered the king's apartment and announced to him that he had come, in the name of the army, to insist that the king should not go to Skaania to superintend preparations for further hostilities, since the Swedes were determined to have an end of these futile and ruinous wars. Gustavus, upon hearing this speech, drew his sword and called aloud for "help against traitors," but Adlerkreuz's men closed in around him and disarmed him. After an hour's detention he succeeded in making his escape through a concealed door in the wainscoting, and hurried into the courtyard to rouse the watch. He was pursued, however, and carried back to his apartments, and the following day conveyed, under a strong guard, to the palace of Drotthingholm, where he was forced to sign a deed renouncing the Swedish throne for himself and all his descendants. No attempt was made from any quarter to champion his cause, and in the same year he was formally banished the kingdom. After wandering about the continent and leading a strange, restless life in the character of Colonel Gustafsson, he died in obscurity, in the year 1837, at St. Gall, in Switzerland.

The *coup d'état* having been completed without bloodshed or disturbance of any kind, the estates met, and, in accordance with the general wishes of the nation, invited Duke Charles of Soedermannland to undertake the administration until more permanent arrangements could be made. In a diet held in 1809 Gustavus IV. was formally declared to have forfeited the crown, and Duke Charles proclaimed king, after having agreed to accept the charter drawn up by the estates, along the lines of the charter of 1720, giving the sovereign the administrative power, to be exercised, however, only in accord with the advice of the council of states, and leaving to the diet, still composed of the four orders, the right of legislation and the power of levying taxes.

At the same diet the Danish Stadholder of Norway, Prince Christian Augustus of Augustenburg, was designated as successor to the childless king, as a reward for his friendly conduct toward Sweden during the late war with Denmark, friendly conduct indeed which amounted to treason to Denmark.

In the spring of 1810 the new heir-apparent passed away at a military review at Helsingborg. Suspicions of poisoning at-

tached to his sudden demise, and in the wild excitement of the moment Count Axel Fersen, suspected of being the assassin, was literally torn to pieces by an infuriated mob. The government, by way of appeasing popular opinion, now proposed to take the deceased prince's brother as successor to the throne, and sent the young Baron Mörner to Paris to inform Napoleon, whose dependency Sweden had now virtually become, of their purpose. This young man, however, like many others of his rank, had a great de-

sire to see his native country brought more closely into connection with France, and, thinking to please the emperor, proposed, apparently of his own initiative, that a French general should be chosen king of Sweden. Napoleon appeared at first to be gratified by this proposal, but when Baron Mörner, after receiving the consent of the diet, suggested Jean Bernadotte (Prince of Ponte Corvo) as the one best fitted for the dignity, and begged the emperor to sanction the choice of the estates, the suspicious autocrat began to create objections, and when he at last gave the necessary permission, accompanied it with ominous words of farewell to his marshal: "Go, then," said he, "and let us fulfill our several destinies." Jean Bernadotte was in the prime of life when he was thus suddenly and unexpectedly adopted into the Swedish royal family, a man of ability, judgment, and resolution, and one of the bravest and most successful of Napoleon's commanders. On October 19, 1810, he renounced Catholicism and was admitted into the Lutheran Church. On November 5 he was elected prince royal by the Swedish diet. He immediately took charge of foreign affairs and began to reorganize the army. Napoleon had declared that he did not care to what extent Sweden was dismembered. This humiliating insult roused the spirit of Bernadotte. "Napoleon," he exclaimed, "has himself thrown down the gauntlet, and I will take it up!" In April, 1812, Bernadotte signed a secret treaty with the Emperor Alexander of Russia, at Abo. Sweden renounced all claims to Finland and joined the last coalition against Napoleon. In return she was promised Norway, since Denmark was the French emperor's ally. Alexander also hinted that Bernadotte might hope for all of Denmark, or even for the French crown, when Napoleon should finally be dethroned. By the treaties of Kiel and Vienna, 1814, the conditions of the Treaty of Abo were carried out. In addition, Sweden received, in exchange for her Pomeranian territories, 4,800,000 rix dollars, with which sum she was able entirely to liquidate her national debt.

To return to Denmark, it will be remembered that in 1784 the crown prince claimed his majority and assumed the right to rule jointly with his father, the imbecile Christian VII. The first act of the young prince was to dismiss Count Guldberg and his party, and recall Count Andreas Peter Bernstorf, the former minister of foreign affairs, who had some years before retired from the public service in consequence of differences with the rest of the council.

After 1792 almost every other state in Europe found itself forced to participate in the wars of the revolution. The Danes, however, during this period enjoyed a remarkable degree of prosperity, owing to the condition of armed neutrality which the prudent and cautious Bernstorf was able to maintain, and which now enabled Denmark to carry her trade to all the principal mercantile ports of the Baltic and German oceans. But the trading part of the community was not unique in its prosperity. In 1788 a law was passed giving the peasantry complete freedom from all the bonds of serfdom that still lingered on from the Middle Ages. In order to prevent undue license on the part of the younger peasants, the measure was not to come into full force till 1800 for those who were under thirty-six years of age at the time of its first enactment. The slave trade was also declared illegal at this period in all the Danish West Indian Islands, and the example thus set by Denmark, in 1792, was soon followed by England and other European powers.

As long as Count Bernstorf lived causes for strife between Denmark and England had been repressed, but not without difficulty, for the English entered repeated protests against the Danes engaging in the transportation of food and forage into French and German ports. When, therefore, after Bernstorf's death, in 1799, Danish men-of-war were sent to sea to convoy merchant vessels, open hostilities ensued. The first quarrel was smoothed over for the time; but in 1800, when Russia, Sweden, and Prussia formed the Northern Maritime League and invited Denmark to join it, England took alarm, and dispatched a fleet under Admirals Parker and Nelson to the Cattegat. The Danes, wholly unprepared for such a step, yet did their best to prevent the English from passing the Sound. But Parker's fleet of fifty-one ships, including twenty line-of-battle ships, was an overwhelming force. By keeping close to the Swedish coast it got clear of the heavy cannons of Elsinore, at the mouth of the narrow strait between Sweden and Denmark, and cast anchor in the harbor of Copenhagen on April 1, 1801. The next morning, Shrove Tuesday, Nelson attacked the Danish defenses. Then followed a fierce and bloody engagement of five hours' duration, which ended with Nelson's sending an English officer ashore, under a flag of truce, to bear the extraordinary declaration that unless the Danes ceased firing he would burn the Danish ships in his hands even though he sacrificed their crews. The crown prince, against the wishes and advice of his command-

ers, consented to discuss terms of peace. Thus ended a battle of which Nelson said that it was the most fiercely contested of the hundred and five engagements in which he had taken part. The Danish seamen, under their brave and able commander, Olfert Fischer, fought with the daring for which their nation had in former ages been noted. Three times the aged admiral left one burning ship to hoist his flag on another, while several of the younger captains—among them Lassen, Risbrich, and Villemoes—fought their ships against larger vessels as long as the shattered hulks remained afloat.

The death of the Emperor Paul, and the new alliance made by his son and successor, Alexander, with England, put an end to the compact of armed neutrality which had given rise to this unfortunate war. Denmark now enjoyed a few years of peace, and her trade, both in the New and Old World, rose to a degree of activity which it had never before attained. The Danes were, in fact, the great trading agents for all the other countries of Europe, which were all more or less engaged in war with France. This prosperous condition of affairs was, however, rudely disturbed, in 1807, when the English government, believing that Denmark had entered into a treaty with Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander of Russia, now Napoleon's ally, or at least fearing that the Danish monarch would be compelled to follow the dictates of these two autocrats, sent fifty-four ships of war, under Admiral Gambier, to demand the immediate delivery of the Danish fleet into English safekeeping, in order to prevent its use in the cause of the French emperor. The demand came inopportunely for the Danes, as the royal family and nearly all the Danish army were in Holstein, where the crown prince had reason to fear that an attack was designed from the German frontier. Copenhagen was thus left in an unprotected state. When the commandant of the city, General Peymann, refused to comply with the demands of the English admiral, 33,000 men were landed, under General Cathcart, and the town formally attacked by land and sea. A cruel bombardment of three days leveled 1800 houses, laid a large portion of the city in ashes, and at last forced General Peymann to admit the English troops into the citadel of Frederikshavn. The result of this attack, which the Danes looked upon as a wanton act of piracy, unworthy a great naval power, was the seizure by the British of 18 ships of the line, 21 frigates, 6 brigs, and 25 gunboats, besides an immense

amount of naval stores of every kind. Danish naval power was crushed by the blow, and a generation passed away before the fatal wrong to which the nation had been subjected was forgiven.

On the night of March 13, 1808, Christian VII.'s useless life came to a close, and he was succeeded by his son and regent as Frederick VI. Whatever may have been the new monarch's estimate of the situation, public sentiment speedily compelled him to ally himself with Napoleon. But the remedy was worse than the disease. Danish trading ships were nowhere safe from the attack of British men-of-war. It is estimated that before the restoration of peace upward of 1200 Danish merchantmen, valued, together with their cargoes, at 30,000,000 rix dollars, had been confiscated. On the pretense of supporting Denmark against an invasion by the Swedes, and aiding her in recovering her old Swedish provinces, Napoleon sent an army of 30,000 men, under General Bernadotte (Prince of Ponte Corvo), into Slesvig-Holstein, where they remained over a year without striking a single blow in Denmark's behalf. The cost and disturbance which the presence of such a body of foreign soldiery necessarily occasioned were greatly aggravated by their want of discipline and the discontent of the men themselves. Among them were 14,000 Spaniards, under the command of the Marquis de la Romana, who, during the whole of his stay in the Danish peninsula, was engaged in intrigues to escape from the service of the French emperor and unite with the English. When the news arrived that Napoleon had deposed the King of Spain and placed his brother Joseph on the throne of that country, the long-brooding discontent of the Spanish troops broke into open rebellion, and the country was soon afterward called upon to witness a civil war among its self-appointed defenders. A squadron of English ships, which had been sent to coöperate with the Spanish detachment in the Danish provinces, succeeded in taking large numbers on board from Jutland and the Island of Langeland, while the few regiments which were unable to escape were disarmed by the Danes and kept as prisoners of war. Bernadotte withdrew his forces, thereby permitting the English to pounce upon Anhalt and so secure control of the passage between Denmark and Norway. At the same time the government of Frederick VI. formed the desperate resolution of meeting the heavy debts which they had incurred in this unfortunate war by issuing 142 millions of paper notes, which were

speedily circulated at one-sixth of their face value. This measure undoubtedly averted the bankruptcy that seemed inevitable, but it ruined the chief trading and banking houses in Denmark, and created the acutest distress in almost every rank of the population. The Danish king's policy was throughout weak and vacillating. After a series of humiliations and disappointments he found himself compelled, in 1814, to agree to the Peace of Kiel. In accordance with the terms of this treaty, as was above noted, Denmark was forced to give Norway to Sweden, and to accept in exchange Swedish Pomerania and Rygen, which, however, were at once ceded to Prussia in return for Lauenburg and the payment of two millions of rix dollars. England required for herself the cession of Heligoland, to secure the command of the Elbe; and, thus bereft of all her most valuable points of defense, Denmark was forced to join the allies. Finally Frederick was compelled to seek admission to the Congress of Vienna, not as an independent sovereign, but as a member of the German confederation in his capacity as duke of Holstein and Lauenburg.

The years succeeding the Congress of Vienna[3] were for Scandinavia, as for the rest of Europe, years of material recuperation, and of political development, under the influence of the dogmas of the revolution. In 1818 Bernadotte ascended the Swedish throne as Charles XIV., or, as his subjects designated him, Karl Johan. In his earlier days Bernadotte had been a fierce republican, vociferating his theories to the very face of Napoleon, whose coronation as emperor his scruples would not permit him to attend. Indeed, the story is told that, long years after he became a monarch himself, his court physician found the words "*À bas les Rois*" and "*Vive la République*" tattoed on the arm of his distinguished patient. Such sentiments were, however, no longer representative of the burgher-king's convictions. From year to year his recollection of the excesses of the French Revolution increased in vividness, his distrust of popular enthusiasms became accentuated, his disinclination to favor any extension of political freedom became more pronounced. Too large a part of his career had been spent in the rôle of a commander of cohorts, whose word was law, to admit now of any toleration on his part of interference with his administration. He consulted his council, indeed, but for advice,

[3] *Vide* Lavisse and Rambaud: "*Histoire Générale*," vol. X. pp. 672-692. Also Seignobos: "Political History of Europe since 1814," ch. XVIII. (Macvane's translation).

not direction. Even the word of his influential favorite, Magnus Brahe, was not preponderant.

Nevertheless, in a country where the aristocracy was as strong as it was in Sweden in 1818, where nine years before it had succeeded in transforming the absolute despotism into a limited monarchy, the royal will was not allowed to work itself out entirely without let or hindrance, now that peace had succeeded war, and opposition could again assert itself without peril to the state. By 1818 the strict legitimist party, that had at first opposed the notion of a French dynasty, had entirely vanished before the evidences that the adopted prince royal had given of his great capacity and of his fidelity to Sweden. The opposition that met Karl Johan in the diet of 1818 and 1823 was, on the contrary, a liberal opposition, whose platform was the supersession of the antiquated estates by a representative parliament similar to that of France and England, and the transformation of the council of state into a responsible ministry. The revolutionary enthusiasm of 1830 greatly strengthened the Swedish opposition, which now spread beyond the legislative chambers and began to use the public press. A certain Crusentolpe attacked the government with audacity and virulence. Another journalist, Hierta by name, founded the *Aftonbladet* and devoted its pages entirely to political agitation. Karl Johan suppressed the obstreperous sheets and prosecuted their mutinous editors relentlessly. The agitation grew none the less, and Karl Johan, however obstinate, knew when to yield as well as when to fight. In 1840 he gave his sanction to an act of the diet reorganizing the council of state into a departmental ministry, such as had been established in Denmark, nearly two centuries before, under Frederick III. Under the new arrangement, which still obtains, there are seven services—foreign affairs, navy, defense, finance, justice, education, and interior—each in charge of a minister. Decisions are made by the ministry as a body, then receive the royal sanction, and finally the signature of the head of the particular department to which the subject matter falls.

Despite the frequently outrageous character of the opposition, his own alien birth, his ignorance of his subjects' language, and his horror of change, Karl Johan celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the Swedish throne on February 5, 1843, amid many evidences of general regard. The political agitators, knowing that his reign was now near its close, and hoping for much

from the liberality of his heir's sentiments, were content to abide their time. In March, 1844, Karl Johan died. In the days of his soldiering for France he had married Desirée Clary, the bewitching daughter of a Marseilles silk merchant, and once the betrothed of the great Bonaparte himself. By the marriage there was one son, who now ascended the throne as Oscar I.

Karl Johan's rule was a period of great internal development for Sweden. Industry, agriculture, and commerce, reviving, attained dimensions hitherto unknown. Between 1821 and 1840 the customs receipts more than doubled. Roads, bridges, and canals, the greatest of which was the famous Gothia Canal, connecting the North and Baltic Seas, and completed in 1832, rendered the country accessible in every quarter. The employment of steam assisted the process, though it was not till the next reign that the era of railroad building seriously began. Public education was greatly expanded. Already in 1811 an agricultural college had been founded; in 1821 a school of mines was established; the law of 1842 inaugurated the national system of parochial schools and brought elementary education within the reach of all orders. Certain reforms were made despite royal opposition, such as the establishment of new tribunals and the improvement of the prison system. In other ways, however, as, for instance, by the maintenance of the alliance with Russia and peace with Europe, and by the negotiation of numerous commercial treaties, the king and his ministers actively aided the general development.

For more than four hundred years Norway had been united with Denmark, spoken the same language and read the same literature; that she should resist transference to Sweden, an alien power, was natural. The recently revived sentiment of patriotism, however, which in 1810 had found expression in the formation of a "Society for the Promotion of Norwegian Interests," and in subscriptions for a Norwegian university, transformed the resistance into an effort to raise Norway once more to the station of an independent nation, rather than simply to maintain the Danish connection. The Danish viceroy, Prince Christian Frederick, at once identified himself with the patriotic cause. Convoking a diet of elected representatives and officeholders at Eidsvold, he was elected king of Norway by that body, May 17, 1814. The diet, at the same time, adopted a constitution modeled on the French constitution of 1791, which asserted the sovereignty of the

people and their right to govern themselves through an elective and non-dissoluble assembly. The Norwegian forces were at first successful, but they could not long cope with a commander like Bernadotte, backed as he was by the mandate of Europe and the British fleet. The Swedish army occupied southern Norway, while the Swedish fleet blockaded the coast. Before the close of 1814 Christian Frederick departed the country and Charles XIII. was proclaimed joint ruler of Sweden and Norway. The Norwegian cause was not entirely forfeited, however. By the generous terms of the convention of Moss of August, 1814, and the subsequent Act of Union of August, 1815, Norway was, in all respects save her union with Sweden, through the person of the latter country's monarch, recognized as an independent sovereign nation. She was to retain her ancient institutions and her recent constitution at pleasure; to have, therefore, her own legislative assembly or storthing, which, moreover, the king was to have no power to dissolve; to have ministers of her own appointed by the king, except in war and diplomacy; to levy her own taxes, control her own schools, create her own municipalities; any bill passed by the storthing, three times in succession, at intervals of three years, was to become law without the royal sanction; no Swede was to hold official position in Norway except that of viceroy. Finally, so entirely was the idea of the two nations as distinct political entities pushed, that Swedes were to be foreigners in Norway, and vice versa.

Nevertheless, despite the liberality of these terms, the "Norwegian Question"—the question of Norway's status as a nation—was sure to arise. In the first place, Swedes and Norwegians viewed the Act of Union from diametrically opposed points of view. To the former it was the evidence of their own generosity to a conquered people, and was so represented even in the Swedish textbooks; to the latter it was the contract of voluntary union between two independent states who had elected to have the same monarch. In the second place, Bernadotte's sincerity in granting such liberal terms to Norway is open to question. In 1814 the legitimists were still strong in Sweden, and the prince royal was by no means certain of his future. It might be well then—he doubtless reflected—to take some thought of the morrow, not to bind Norway to Sweden too irretrievably. A country of refuge might prove a convenient shelter in the days to come. At any rate Bernadotte's softness was repented of by Karl Johan, who, at the very outset, de-

manded amendments to the Act of Union—now an organic part of the Norwegian constitution—which would give him the right of veto, the power of dissolution, and the appointment of numerous officers. Of course these were rejected by the storthing. In 1833 the character of the storthing was considerably changed by the entrance of peasant representatives—it had hitherto been largely bureaucratic in makeup—and by the formation of an avowedly patriotic party, under the leadership of the poet Wergeland. By three successive votes the nobility that Karl Johan had sought to create in his interest was abolished. In 1836 Karl Johan actually issued an order dissolving the storthing; the storthing retorted by impeaching the ministry; the prudent monarch not only yielded in the matter at issue, but supplanted his Swedish viceroy with a Norwegian. Already, more than a year before, he had admitted the Norwegian minister of state at Stockholm to participation in the discussion of foreign affairs in the Swedish ministerial council; and in 1838 accorded Norwegian merchantmen the right to carry the flag which the storthing had devised for Norway, in 1821, into all seas.

The years succeeding the union were the most prosperous that Norway had ever known. The close of the period of war and the withdrawal of Danish officialdom left the nation a community of peasants, the completest democracy in the world, but also much impoverished. Norway's climate does not permit a profitable pursuit of agriculture for more than a short season each year. To supplement it there are fishing, lumbering, shipbuilding, and commerce. These industries had been swept away in the course of the struggle with Napoleon. Karl Johan's government immediately took a hand in effecting an industrial and commercial revival in the poverty-stricken land. In 1818 an industrial school was founded at Christiania. Norway shared with Sweden, of course, the benefit of the numerous commercial treaties to which reference has been made. In the course of a few years Norway came to own a quarter of the merchant marine of Europe. The number of landowners increased between the years 1814 and 1835 from 45,000 to 105,000. Shortly after the close of the war a bank of Norway was established, the paid-up capital of which was procured by taxation. This led to a rising in 1818, which, however, was soon put down. The reform, together with the reduction of the army to one-half, and bountiful harvests, soon brought prosperity.

The public debt, which was very large in 1815, was entirely liquidated by 1850.

In Denmark the establishment, in 1818, of a national bank, wholly independent of the state, was the first step toward a better condition in the monetary system. By degrees trade and confidence in the resources of the country revived, and a proper and fair proportion of silver money came to replace the former worthless paper notes of the government. The more prosperous condition of the people soon led them to interest themselves in the management of public affairs. So decided a character had this newly awakened feeling assumed by the time of the revolutionary movements of 1830, that King Frederick, to avert any untoward results, but entirely in opposition to his own conservative principles, proclaimed the establishment of consultative chambers in the spring of 1831. The nation seized with eagerness upon this opportunity of asserting their rights, and poured forth their gratitude to the king in the most enthusiastic manner. The same year the new assemblies were opened: one for the islands at Roeskilde, one for Jutland at Viborg, one for Slesvig in the town of Slesvig, and one for Holstein at Itzehoe. To these chambers were to be submitted for consideration and approval all laws affecting the personal condition of the citizens of the respective provinces, and all projects of taxation. The finances of the kingdom became the first object of consideration for the new chambers. These bodies, not satisfied with the amount of information accorded them on the subject of the disposal of the revenue, petitioned the king for leave to appoint a committee of inquiry into the working of the financial departments of the government. But Frederick had apparently repented of his easy compliance with liberalism, and the demand was vetoed. In the meanwhile the question of the freedom of the press had begun to excite the minds of men of all classes. The king and his chief friends, taking speedy alarm at the free discussion of public matters, which now, for the first time, filled the papers, and unable the rescind the rights of free speech granted to the members of the different chambers, determined to impose restrictions on the press. The first decisive step taken by the government was to interdict the further publication of *Foedrelandet,* a weekly paper, conducted by the learned C. N. David, professor of political economy in the University of Copenhagen. Dr. David was brought before the law courts on the charge of seditious writing, but to the universal

joy of the liberal party, and to the extreme annoyance of the government, which deprived him, in the following year (1836), of his chair, was acquitted.

In the midst of a turmoil of strong political feeling Frederick VI. died, in 1839, after a rule of fifty-five years, leaving behind the memory of a well-meaning but feeble ruler, whose thoroughly patriotic love of his country and his people made him personally dear to all classes of his subjects, despite the many blunders and shortcomings of his administration.

The years 1814 and 1844 mark the birth time and the coming to maturity of a new generation of Scandinavians, who never participated in the slaughter of brother Scandinavians, who never witnessed a war of Swedes against Danes or of either against Norwegians. Old jealousies waned; old rivalries relaxed; the fraternal feud that had endured so many centuries came to an end, supplanted by a feeling of patriotism to all Scandinavia. The monarchs themselves, especially Karl Johan and Oscar I., greatly aided the growth of this new sentiment by encouraging Scandinavian congresses for the consideration of scientific, literary, and other interests, and by urging exchanges of courtesies by the universities and colleges of the three nations. At the time of the Crimean War Prince Oscar hoisted his admiral's flag over the first allied fleet of Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian vessels that had ridden the seas since the days of the Vikings. At the close of the war, in consequence of the personal friendship of Oscar and Frederick VII., a defensive alliance was entered into between Sweden and Denmark, the avowed purpose of which was to make a Scandinavian war thenceforth impossible. In Frederick's ensuing struggle with his Slesvig-Holstein subjects, Oscar, as we shall see, sent troops to the assistance of his royal brother and gave his cordial approval to the enlistment of Swedish volunteers for the Danish service. To this sentiment of Pan-Scandinavianism—if so it may be called—is to be referred in part the great literary outburst of this period. In Sweden, Tegner, Stagnelius, and Runeberg (the latter born in Finland but Sweden's greatest poet), found their themes in ancient Norse history; Oehlenschläger, the founder of the Danish drama, had recourse to the same fountain of inspiration; also Wergeland and Welhaven in Norway. In these same years Geijer wrote history; Fogelberg wrought his sculpture; and Berzelius, the chemist, stood at the summit of scientific eminence in Europe.

Chapter XX

SLESVIG-HOLSTEIN. 1839-1885

FREDERICK VI., leaving no male heir, was succeeded by his cousin, under the title of Christian VIII. The accession of this prince to the throne was hailed with joy by the entire Danish nation, who believed that in him they would find a ruler of liberal and advanced views. Their expectations were, however, only partially realized. For although King Christian was a man of talent, of literary aptitudes, of erudition, and was well informed in all the political questions of the day, he yet displayed from the moment of his accession a resolute determination to stand by the ancient prerogative of the crown, and a most disheartening reluctance to pledge himself to measures of reform. Despite the fact that Christian effected many improvements in the government, reduced the national debt from 124 to 104 millions rix dollars, encouraged the promotion of learning and extension of schools, and impressed a new and more enlightened spirit upon the public institutions of the country, the people remained dissatisfied, the press, in defiance of restriction and severe penalties, gave circulation to works of a violent character, and the relations between the monarch and the legislative chambers became yearly more and more impossible.

The most important cause of Danish dissatisfaction with Christian was afforded by his vacillating, and—from the Danish standpoint—unpatriotic, course in the Slesvig-Holstein matter. The Holy Roman empire had come to an end in 1806, but the Germanic confederation of 1815 was heir to its pretensions, or rather, to its right to make pretensions. The position of Holstein as a member of the confederation was, however, plain. It had never been united to Denmark by more than personal union, and then as a separate fief from the empire. Moreover, since the Salic law had ceased to regulate succession to the Danish throne in the time of Frederick III., while it continued to regulate the succession in certain districts of Holstein, the line of personal connection was

liable to be dissevered at any moment with respect to those districts.

The case of Slesvig and the rest of Holstein, on the other hand, it may be well to review. It will be recalled that, in the reign of Niels, Knud Hlaford took possession of Slesvig, and that when Knud himself became king, his son, Valdemar, became first duke of Slesvig. Valdemar's accession, in 1157, united the duchy temporarily to the kingdom, but Knud VI. again detached it for his son, Valdemar, whose accession to the Danish throne again effected a brief union of the duchy and the kingdom. In 1218, however, Valdemar handed over the duchy to Erik as did Erik to Abel in 1232. Abel's usurpation, in 1250, brought about a third reunion of the realm, but for only four years. For when, at Abel's death, his brother, Christopher, came to the throne, his son, Valdemar, became duke of Slesvig and founded a line that endured till 1375. The *Constitutio Valdemariana* of 1326 had, in the meantime, guaranteed the divorce of the duchy and the realm; so that, at the extinction of the Valdemarian family, Slesvig, instead of escheating to the crown, was allowed to pass to Count Gerhard VI. of Holstein in August 15, 1386—the origin of Slesvig-Holstein. This, however, was the moment of the Union of Calmar. Erik of Pomerania's more ambitious and capable successors were unwilling to see their almost imperial dominion clipped in any direction. Accordingly, Gerhard's son and successor, Adolf VII. of Holstein, had to fight Denmark thirty years before he was invested with Slesvig. Hardly had he triumphed when he himself was offered the Danish crown. It will be remembered that he declined the offer, but nominated his nephew and presumptive heir, Christian of Oldenburg, for the honor. Christian became king of Denmark in 1448, and twelve years later, upon the death of his uncle, was chosen duke of Slesvig and count of Holstein by the estates at Ribe.

We now come upon a document of great importance from the standpoint of some subsequent history. Christian I. swore at Ribe to maintain in perpetuity the union and individuality of the country and the duchy, and to conserve their respective liberties. Every year a diet was to be convened at Bornhöved for Holstein, and another, for Slesvig, at Urnehöved. The consent of these bodies was to be sought to all imposts and all declarations of war. In the absence of the king, the administration of the two regions was to fall to a commission of twelve, consisting of the bishops of Lübeck

and Holstein and ten delegates. Just 396 years later, and in the very midst of the struggle which we are here chronicling, Dahlmann, the eminent German historian, whose "History of Denmark" we have cited on numerous occasions, discovered, in the course of his researches at Preetz, the original draft of Christian I.'s long-forgotten pact. Immediately the document was seized upon by the pro-German party of south Slesvig and heralded abroad as the unalterable charter of "German liberties" in the duchies. It was argued that inasmuch as Holstein was admittedly not an integral part of the Danish realm, then neither was Slesvig; that since Holstein was a member of the German confederation, then so should Slesvig be rightfully; that since the Salic rule of succession still held for Holstein, so also it should for Slesvig.

To say the least, this argument ignored a good deal of intervening history. In 1544 there took place between the sons of Frederick I. a division of the possessions of the house of Oldenburg. Christian III. founded a line of Danish kings; Adolph I. founded the line of Gottorp. In 1581 a second partition was made by the two branches of the house of Oldenburg: that of Flensburg (August 15, 1581). By this treaty, Slesvig and Holstein both fell to the Gottorp prince, but Slesvig remained a Danish fief, while Holstein remained a German. It is true that Frederick III., third of the line of Gottorp dukes, wrung a recognition of his sovereignty in Slesvig from Denmark by the Treaty of Oliva in 1660. But the half century of war that followed resulted, with the overthrow of Charles XII., in the triumph of the Danish king. In August, 1721, Frederick IV. of Denmark was recognized by the Slesvig diet as sole sovereign of the duchy. By the Treaty of Copenhagen of 1767 Catherine II. of Russia renounced her son's claims upon Holstein, as heir to one branch of the Gottorp line, and Christian VII. now acquired the entire Gottorp title. In 1806, upon the dissolution of the Holy Roman empire, the union of Holstein to the Danish monarchy was affirmed, though certain indefinite rights of collateral heirs were reserved. The Treaty of Vienna transferred Lauenburg to Denmark, and reaffirmed the Danish monarch's position as duke of Holstein. Both Holstein and Lauenburg were recognized as members of the German confederation.

The pro-German deductions from Christian I.'s pact with the estates at Ribe, in 1460, seem, therefore, highly absurd. The legal phase of the situation was, however, in 1844, very minor. The

crux of the difficulty consisted in the fact that the population of Slesvig-Holstein, except in certain districts of the former, was largely German, and that their institutions had, in the course of a long process, which we have noted from time to time, become German also. Now, so long as the Germans as a race possessed no national yearnings, the union of the duchies in the Danish monarchy had not been looked upon as a grievance. But the War of Liberation, of 1813, had altered this general condition by creating a general revival of German patriotism. Next year had followed Denmark's loss of Norway and a consequent imposition by the Danish government of additional burdens upon the population of Slesvig-Holstein. In 1830 the pro-German cause was given an organ for the establishment, in consequence of the revolutionary movements of that year, of provincial estates in both Slesvig and Holstein. Finally, in 1844, came Dahlmann's discovery. The disruptionists now stood apparently on the ground of ancient rights.

Returning now to Christian VIII., the leaders of the German party in Slesvig-Holstein were the queen's brothers, Christian of Augustenburg and Prince Frederick of Nöer. When, therefore, Christian, in 1842, elevated the latter to the rank of stadholder and commander-in-chief in Slesvig-Holstein and made him president of the government of the duchies, his action naturally created considerable distrust among the patriotic, or pro-Danish, party, which became positive consternation when, without the warrant of nepotism that may have attached to the appointment of the prince, the posts of chancellor and foreign secretary for the duchies were bestowed upon Counts Joseph and Heinrick Reventlow Criminil, the devoted friends and confidants of the Augustenburg prince. In the indignation of the moment, violent and angry remonstrances inundated the king from every quarter of Jutland and the Danish Islands. The press became obstreperous and the royal ministers resigned. The German party, on the other hand, was correspondingly elated at these reiterated proofs of royal favor. At the following meeting of the estates at Slesvig, in November, 1844, the secessionists were emboldened to propose that steps should be taken for the admission of Slesvig into the German confederation, in anticipation of which the use of the Danish language was to be suppressed in the duchies, and the Danish flag, the Dannebrog, was to be replaced by the special flag for the united state of Slesvig-Holstein.

Again angry remonstrances flowed in upon the king, urging condign punishment for the treason done the language and the flag of the kingdom. At first Christian appeared to hesitate. The candor of the disruptionists, however, could permit no doubt as to their intentions. In 1846 King Christian published the "open royal letter," declaring Slesvig an organic part of the Danish realm, and governed by the same rule of succession. Moreover, as to those portions of Holstein where a different rule of succession prevailed, he would spare no effort to preserve the unity of the monarchy. At the same time he refused to receive protests from the provincial estates of Slesvig-Holstein, and soon after deprived Prince Frederick of the important posts which the latter had been intrusted with in 1842. This remained the situation of affairs till January 20, 1848, when Christian VIII., dying, was succeeded by Frederick VII., the last of the male line of his house.

Frederick VII.'s initial act was to publish a liberal constitution. The significance of this document, in connection with the Slesvig-Holstein question, is that it treated all parts of the monarchy as on the same footing. At this very moment the "February Revolution" was occurring in Paris and transmitting the revolutionary impulse to every quarter of Europe. A public meeting at Altona demanded the establishment of a separate constitution for Slesvig-Holstein and the admission of Slesvig into the German confederation, which demands were immediately drafted into resolutions by the provincial estates and forwarded to the king at Copenhagen. Frederick, in his reply, admitted the right of Holstein, as a member of the German confederation, to be guided by the decrees of the Frankfort diet, but declared that he had neither "the power, right, nor wish" to permit Slesvig to enter the confederation. At the same instant a popular movement at Copenhagen brought into power a thoroughly Danish ministry, pledged to the formal and explicit incorporation of Slesvig with Denmark. But even before this the Holsteiners, without awaiting the king's reply, had taken matters into their own hands. Prince Frederick of Nöer had gained over the garrison of the castle of Rendsburg by circulating a report that Copenhagen was in a state of siege and Frederick VII. a prisoner. A provisional government had been formed at Kiel; the Duke of Augustenburg had gone to Berlin to demand aid from King Frederick William IV.

This mission was successful. The Prussian king, hard

pressed by his people, who had become inoculated with the revolutionary virus and were demanding constitutional liberty, was eager enough to appear in the rôle of defender of German liberties in Holstein. The diet of Frankfort, expressing the universal will of Germany, demanded that Slesvig, as the sister state of Holstein, should enter the confederation. Immediately the envoy who represented the King of Denmark as Duke of Holstein quitted Frankfort, and a state of war ensued between Denmark on the one side and Prussia and the German confederation on the other.

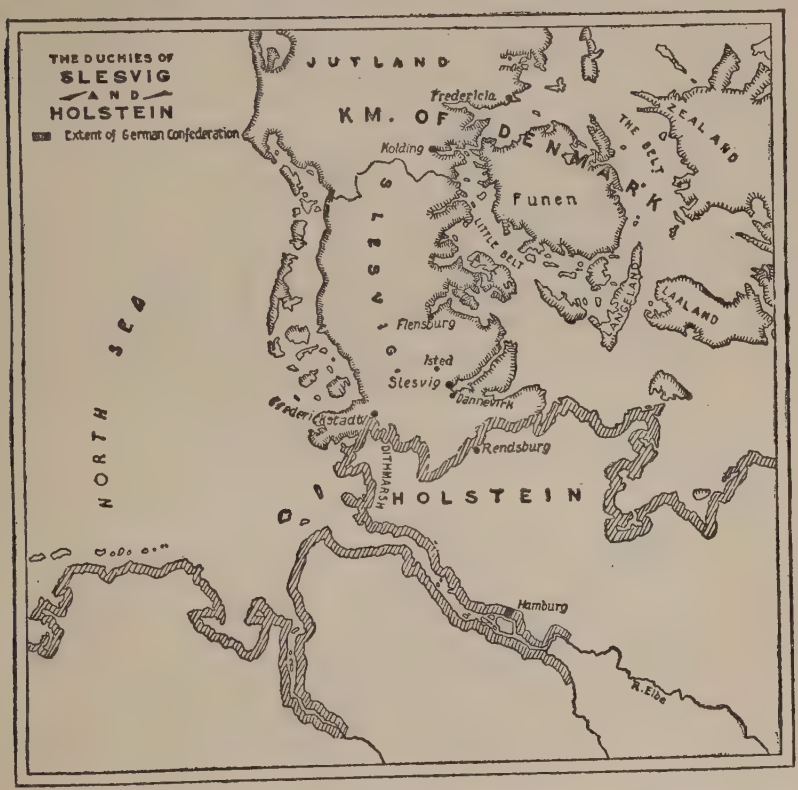
Military operations had already begun; the Danes had met the Holstein army near Flensborg and had forced it to fall back. Before they could follow up their advantage, however, the insurgents received strong reinforcements of German troops under Generals Wrangel and Halkett. On April 23, 1848, a stubborn contest was fought near Slesvig between the allied armies, amounting to 28,000 men, and the Danish army, under the command of General Hedemann. The Danes, numbering only 11,000, and unprovided with the more modern weapons of their German antagonists, were forced, after a gallant stand, prolonged through the whole day, to retreat to the little Island of Als, where they could lie under cover of the Danish ships of the line and recruit their forces. In the meantime General Wrangel advanced inland into Jutland, where he attempted to collect four million rix dollars as indemnity for the damage inflicted on his army and on German shipping by the Danish navy. Before he could enforce his demands, however, he received orders from the Prussian court to retire south of the little stream known as the Konge-aae, in Slesvig. This sudden and unexpected movement was the result of Russian intervention, which the Prussian monarch was not in a position to defy.

At the same moment King Oscar of Sweden sent troops into Fyen to help the Danes, but before they could strike a blow the great powers had interfered. Hostilities still continued, in a desultory fashion, for some weeks longer, but at length a seven months' armistice was agreed upon by the antagonists and signed at Malmö on August 26. By this truce it was stipulated that the acts of the provisional government of the insurgents should be repudiated and that the duchies should be governed till the conclusion of the war by five Slesvig and Holstein commissioners, chosen conjointly by the kings of Prussia and Denmark.

The truce was so unsatisfactory, however, to all parties con-

1849

cerned, that, at its expiration, hostilities were eagerly resumed. In the spring of 1849 80,000 insurgent and German confederate troops were poured into the duchies. The Danes beat back the Hanoverians under General Wynecken at Ullerup, and inflicted severe loss on an army of Saxons, Bavarians, and Hessians, who tried to take the Dybbel works by storm; but they lost some of the best of their men-of-war. General Rye, in conjunction with the



Generals Schleppegrell and Moltke, succeeded in relieving Kolding, in Jutland, and driving out the insurgents, an achievement which, together with Rye's masterly retreat before an army triple his own in numbers, excited the admiration even of the enemy. In the engagement which took place before Fredericia in July, 1849, the Danes, under the chief command of General Bülow, carried by assault the Holstein lines, and, in addition to a large number of prisoners, took 31 cannons and 3000 arms from the insurgents.

With this victory for the Danes the campaign ended and another truce was agreed upon, during which the provinces were again placed under "a board of commissioners, made up this time of an English plenipotentiary, one Danish, and one Prussian representative." The southern districts remained under the protection of Prussian troops and the northern under Swedes and Norwegians. The result was much the same as in the former case; the Germans did all in their power to thwart the purpose of the Danish king, and the English and Danish commissioners found themselves unable to maintain order. Soon, however, a peace was concluded with Prussia. Denmark now, for the first time since the beginning of the war, found herself at liberty to deal single-handed with the insurgents, who had succeeded in getting together an army of upward of 30,000 men, and placing it under the command of a Prussian officer, Willisen.

On July 1, 1850, before the armistice had expired, Willisen, after having made a public entry into the town, accompanied by the Duke of Augustenburg, took up a strong position at Isted, near Slesvig. The duke, in the meanwhile, assumed the title of sovereign of the provinces, and made constant appeals to the people, in the character of a wronged prince, about to fight for his own and their independence against an oppressive tyrant. The Danish army, numbering 27,000 men, under General Krogh, attacked the insurgents July 24. On that and the following day, in the midst of rain and heavy mist, a decisive battle was fought at Isted, which ended in the retreat of Willisen, and in the occupation, by the triumphant Danes, of Slesvig and the old Danish frontier defenses, the Dannevirke. An attack on Midsunde, in the following September, by Willisen, was equally disastrous to the disruptionist cause, the insurgents being driven back with frightful loss from Fredericksstad, and one Holstein battalion being nearly wiped out. At this point the German confederate government, in consequence of the Treaty of Olmütz between Prussia and Austria, interfered, and sent 40,000 Austrians into the Holstein territory. To the cabinet of Vienna, the foe both of German nationality and of every movement smacking of democracy, the Slesvig-Holsteiners were simply rebels in revolt against their sovereign. The insurgent army was disbanded, and a joint Danish, Prussian, and Austrian commission was appointed to govern Holstein till its relations to Denmark could be defined, while Slesvig was left under the control of the

Danish king to be dealt with as he and his advisers might determine.

By the London protocol of August 2, 1850, the powers, with the exception of Prussia, declared for the same rule of succession for all parts of the Danish state. By the Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, to which Prussia also gave its assent, Duke Christian of Glücksburg was made heir presumptive to the Danish throne, since the reigning line would become defunct with the demise of Frederick VII. At the same time the Duke of Augustenburg renounced his pretensions to the succession in Slesvig-Holstein in consideration of an indemnity from the Danish monarch. Thus, while the continuance of the Slesvig-Holstein estates was stipulated and Holstein's rights as a member of the German confederation, under the Treaty of 1815, were reiterated, the integrity of the dominions of the King of Denmark was essentially maintained, and the Slesvig-Holstein question was seemingly at an end.

No so, however. The impulse of German nationality and Prussian ambitions were still to be reckoned with. Relying on the apparent sentiment of the powers in favor of Denmark's integrity, Frederick VII. resumed his attempts to assimilate Slesvig-Holstein to the rest of his realm. In October, 1855, the king granted his Danish subjects a new constitution and extended it to the duchies and the work of superseding German institutions with Danish began with considerable vigor, perhaps with some harshness. At any rate, bitter complaints reached the diet of Frankfort, which forthwith renewed its old-time threats of armed intervention in behalf of German rights. In November, 1855, Frederick consented to exclude Holstein from the operation of the national constitution. By this time, however, the population of Slesvig was also clamoring for autonomy, and, in 1861, the Prussian government announced its support of Slesvig's course. Even the British government, thus far an advocate of Denmark's integrity, urged a separate administration for Slesvig-Holstein. That the Danes would never yield this point, confident as they were of British backing, was made plain by the royal manifesto of March 30, 1863. On October 1 the diet at Frankfort decreed federal execution against the King of Denmark as Duke of Holstein. November 15 King Frederick died. Immediately the eldest son of the Duke of Augustenburg, who had never sanctioned his father's renunciations of the family pretensions, hastened into the duchies and assumed the title

of Duke Frederick VIII. of the united and independent province of Slesvig-Holstein, while Saxon and Hanoverian troops entered the latter duchy as mandatories of the diet.

At this point Bismarck, already the leading figure on the European stage, becomes the chief actor in the Slesvig-Holstein performance. Bismarck's fundamental idea was that German unity was to be achieved only through Prussian domination. Whereas, what the German people intended in 1864, with reference to Slesvig-Holstein, was that another independent state should be added to the German confederation, capable of allying itself with Austria, and of thus assisting in standing off Prussia; what Bismarck desired was that Slesvig-Holstein should become incorporated with Prussia to aid the latter in the necessary enterprise of expelling Austria from the German confederation. Without delay, therefore, Bismarck proceeded to recognize Christian IX. as the rightful monarch of the duchies, as well as the rest of the Danish realm, urging that the Treaty of London must be observed. At the same time he did not withdraw his demands of 1861 for the concession by the Danish government of autonomy to Slesvig; but, by a piece of diplomacy of marvelous dexterity, he brought the Emperor of Austria over to the belief that the diet of Frankfort was supporting a revolutionary movement in the duchies. Of course Austria and Prussia could have no commerce with revolutions, and while the cause of Slesvig must not suffer, it must be promoted only by dealings with legitimate authority. The Austrian and Prussian ultimatum demanding autonomy for Slesvig being rejected by Christian IX., the troops of these powers entered Slesvig February 1, 1864.

There was no alternative left Denmark but to prepare for war. A Danish army of 40,000, under General de Meza, was sent to defend the Dannevirke. The success, however, of the Austrian contingent of the invading forces in their operations against the center of the Danish army, compelled the latter to fall back upon the fortified post of Dybbel. Here for some weeks the Prussians were held in check, while the Austrians advanced northward into Jutland. At length, on April 18, after several hours of heavy bombardment, the lines of Dybbel were taken by storm and the Danes compelled to withdraw across the Sound into Als. Soon the allies, despite the unfailing gallantry of the Danish defense, were in possession of the entire peninsula to the Lymfjord.

In the meantime, finding that neither England, France, nor Sweden interfered in its behalf, the Danish government consented to discuss terms of peace. The Prussian envoy, Bernstorf, at first proposed that Slesvig-Holstein should be recognized as an independent state, the question as to whether Christian IX. or some other prince should be its ruler to be deferred to future negotiation. The Danish representative replied that his government could not recognize the independence of the duchies even on the condition of personal union. Austria and Prussia now demanded that Slesvig-Holstein should be constituted a separate and independent state under Frederick of Augustenburg. The English government secured a modification of the proposition, however, much to the favor of Denmark, to which the northern districts of Slesvig were to remain attached in absolute sovereignty. Even yet the Danes held off, entertaining vain hopes of English assistance. At last the forces on the Island of Als were overthrown. In order to save his monarchy from complete dismemberment, Christian IX. was now compelled to accept the terms offered by the Peace of Vienna, which was signed October 30, 1864. King Christian renounced all claims on the duchies of Lauenburg, Holstein, and Slesvig, and pledged himself to abide by whatever decision Austria and Prussia might make in regard to the future disposal of these provinces.

Ostensibly, Bismarck had carried on the war in behalf of the Slesvig-Holsteiners, and, latterly, in behalf of Frederick of Augustenburg; in reality, he fought for the consolidation of Germany about Prussia, and under the house of Hohenzollern. When, therefore, at the conclusion of the war, he offered the sovereignty of Slesvig-Holstein to the Augustenburg prince, it was on the condition that Kiel, well-fitted to become a great naval station, should be handed over to Prussian control, that certain strategical positions along the Slesvig-Holstein frontier should be likewise surrendered into Prussian hands, and that the entire naval and military resources of the duchies should be made subject to the command of the Berlin government. Both Frederick and the Austrian emperor united to veto this astounding proposition. By the convention of Gastein, of August, 1865, Lauenburg was made over to Prussia in full sovereignty, Slesvig received a Prussian administration, and Holstein an Austrian. Next year, however, occurred the Six Weeks' War and the terrible Austrian defeat at Sadowa. By the Treaty of Prague, signed July 26, 1866, Prus-

sia's sovereignty in Slesvig-Holstein was at last completely established. Though a clause of the treaty, inserted at the instance of Napoleon III. provided that north Slesvig should be restored to Denmark unconditionally if the population should so determine by a plebiscite; this stipulation, with Prussia's triumph and Napoleon's downfall in 1870, proved totally illusive, and, in 1878 Austria agreed to the cancellation of the clause. The inhabitants of north Slesvig have never ceased to show their discontent by electing protesting deputies to the reichstag. The Prussian government has retorted by persecuting Danish patriots and forbidding the use of the Danish language. In 1885 sixteen girls were fined for singing Danish patriotic songs and a bookseller was similarly mulcted for having offered for sale a book whose covers bore the Danish colors.

The war of 1864 effected two things: it brought to a close a struggle that had been going on in various guises for over six centuries; it brought to the Danish frontiers a formidable power that would be nothing loath, moreover, to extend its sway to the tide waters of the Cattegat and the North Sea.

Chapter XXI

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE THREE KINGDOMS. 1844—

OSCAR I. was forty-five years of age when he ascended the Swedish throne. His popularity with his subjects was immense; he was known both as a philanthropist, interested in prison reform, and as a politician of the most enlightened views. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that for years the demise of Karl Johan and the accession of Oscar to the crown had been impatiently awaited by the Swedish people. It was in anticipation of this happy event that the opposition consented to withhold its hand after the reforms of 1840 and to give the aged incumbent of the throne an ovation on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession. The question before the government was still the one brought forward by the liberals of 1815, *viz.*, the transformation of the diet into a popular representative parliament to which the royal ministers should be responsible. That this programme was destined to speedy realization everybody believed in 1844—conservatives and liberals alike—and this belief was greatly strengthened when the new monarch proceeded to dismiss his father's ministers and to put liberals in their places. In 1846 a constitutional commission was appointed by the government, which next year laid its project before the diet: the estates were to be replaced by a bicameral parliament; the members of the lower chamber were to be elective; those of the upper chamber partly elective and partly appointive by the crown. At this point, however, the theoretic obstinacy of radicalism, its characteristic inability at adaptation or compromise, began to obtrude itself. The reform was not thorough-going enough. Ultra-liberals gladly united with their dearest foes, the ultra-conservatives, to defeat the royal project. In March, 1848, revolutionary uprisings occurred in Stockholm, in imitation of the Parisian frenzy of the month before, and considerable blood was spilled. The king was still hopeful and open: with his own hand he penned an amendment to the scheme of the

preceding year, making all the members of the proposed upper chamber elective. The election, however, was to be indirect and far from democratic. For the smaller municipalities twenty-five local assemblies or Landsthings were to elect each a representative. The larger cities were to have one representative, chosen by electoral delegates, for every 30,000 of population. The basis of suffrage for both the Landsthings and the electoral delegations remained, moreover, the ancient feudal one, whereby it often happened that a single individual cast more than half the entire vote of a community. The retention of such an anachronism, asserted the liberals, did little to correct the undemocratic character of the diet, in which the system of voting by orders enabled 27,000 men to counterbalance 2,500,000. The king's benevolence was again rebuffed. Monarchs of liberal political opinions are, however, peculiarly apt to undergo a revulsion of feeling, especially in the presence of an unappreciative radical party, which shows itself disposed to ride a free horse to death. In his speech proroguing the diet, September 4, 1851, Oscar informed that body that he would lay before it no more plans of constitutional reform. He limited the application of his words, however, to purely political reform; for he subsequently gave his assent to measures increasing the freedom of the press, and, in 1858, approved a grant of religious toleration.

In 1857 King Oscar's health compelled him to commit the administration to the charge of the crown prince. Two years later he died. By his queen, Josephine of Leuchtenburg, granddaughter of the Empress Josephine, he left one daughter and four sons, two of whom, Charles and Oscar, successively ascended the throne.

Charles XV. was a monarch with a singularly open mind, unending tact, great shrewdness in the judgment of men, and happy responsiveness to the deeper motives and aspirations of his people. To him and his excellent ministers, preëminent among whom was Baron De Geer, it fell to complete the reform presaged by his father's earlier policy. The project of reform was, at first, blocked by the clergy and the nobility. On December 7, 1865, however, even the nobility was constrained to yield to the king's representations and to give its consent to a plan which had been referred to the diet more than three years before. By the "Constitution of 1866" the riksdag became a bicameral legislature, with an upper house, composed of representatives chosen for nine years, accord-

ing to the scheme of 1848, and a lower house of deputies chosen for three years—one for every 40,000 inhabitants in rural districts, one for every 10,000 inhabitants of cities. Legislatively the two chambers were put on a basis of parity, but in case of disagreement with respect to the budget, it was provided that they should unite and vote as a unicameral legislature. The members of the upper chamber serve without pay, those of the lower house are salaried. The franchise for the election of the lower house, or—as in some of the rural districts—of electors for the purpose, was limited by a property qualification, so that the qualified voters, in 1899, were but one-third the total male adult population, and only 6.7 per cent. of these exercised their franchise.

Two parties immediately appear in the riksdag: the government party and the Landtmanna party, or agrarians; the former urging military reform on the Prussian model—just come into vogue on account of Sadowa—the latter urging fiscal reform that would relieve the landed proprietors of their burdens. A parliamentary commission, appointed in 1872, reported on the necessity of both projects. The same year Charles XV. died, bringing his brother, Oscar II., to the throne. The new king tried minister after minister of the conservative or governmental party, all of whom, however, failed when they attempted any concrete legislation, on the basis of the report of 1872, and most of whom got through their budgets only by dint of uniting the two chambers. At last, in 1883, the king turned to Count Posse, the agrarian leader, and it seemed for the moment as if Sweden, by the voluntary act of its monarch, was to have a cabinet government responsible to the popular chamber. The factious character of the opposition defeated the consummation. Count Posse was deserted by his own party on the military issue, and the king relinquished him the following year, but chose as his successor another agrarian. In 1885 the agrarians were again united, and the election of that year—which had to be repeated on account of alleged illegality—put them so overwhelmingly in control of the lower chamber that any but an agrarian government's budget was an impossibility. A compromise measure resulted. By the act of May 9 thirty per cent. of the land tax—*grundskatterna*—was written off, liberal grants were begun for the fortification of northern Sweden and the army and navy, and the annual period of drill for the national militia was extended from thirty to forty-two days.

Meanwhile the alignment of parties had begun to change and new questions had begun to arise. In 1880 a branch of the agrarian party, in consequence of Bismarck's introduction of the protective system into Germany the year before, began to demand a corn law, imposing a protective duty upon the importation of grain. As the idea made headway in the agrarian ranks the urban representatives in the lower chamber, who were becoming more and more numerous in consequence of the expansion of commerce, took up the defense of free trade. In 1888 the protectionists were overwhelmingly in control in the upper chamber. In the second chamber the twenty-two freetraders from Stockholm were disqualified by the fact that one of their number had failed to pay his taxes a few years before, and their opponents were seated, thus giving the chamber to the protectionists, who now got through their programme. Their victory, however, had been too much a matter of accident to stand in its original dimensions. In 1892 the protectionists still held the upper chamber, but freetraders were in possession of the lower chamber. The former were glad, therefore, to accept a compromise from the hands of their opponents whereby the remnants of the old land tax were abolished, to be replaced by excise and an income tax, and the corn duties were greatly reduced.

Almost from the very outset the urban wing of the opposition —after the agrarians became the government, in 1884—manifested socialistic tendencies. They wished the government to set aside a fund for workingmen's insurance and old age pensions; they demanded state contributions to the municipal schools and work houses, and subventions to the shipping trade; they wanted an eight-hour day for labor; and, finally, they demanded universal suffrage. It is about this last question that political controversy and conflict have centered for the last decade. In 1893 the agitators in behalf of universal suffrage laid a petition, bearing 200,000 signatures, before the king, and summoned a people's parliament, *folkriksdag*, to Stockholm. The movement alarmed the now conservative agrarians. In 1887 this party had split on the question of protection. This issue having been disposed of in 1892, the schism was healed, and the former alignment of the old Landtmanna party restored. The act of 1894, whereby the number of members of the upper chamber was fixed at 150 and that of the lower chamber at 230—150 for the country districts and 80 for the towns—was

plainly intended to secure the agrarians in the possession of government indefinitely. Of course the town representatives now clamored more vociferously than ever for universal suffrage and for proportionate representation in the lower chamber. The government brought forward moderate measures in 1896, and again in 1902, but both were rejected. Next year, however, the riksdag instructed a commission to investigate the subject. Finally, early in February of this year (1906), promise was made in the speech from the throne, at the opening of the riksdag, of a reform of the franchise, and, on February 24, a measure was brought forward in both chambers practically establishing universal suffrage for every male citizen of the age of twenty-four or over. On the other hand, the number of country representatives in the lower chamber is increased, and that of the cities lowered, by fifteen. The passage of the measure is said to be assured.

In the meantime the long-standing question of military organization had been disposed of. By the act of 1901 every Swede, on attaining the age of twenty-one, owes military service, eight years in the first ban of the beväring, four years in the second ban, and eight years in the landstorm. The period of actual service with the colors is increased from ninety days to 172 for the years 1902 to 1908; afterward to 240 days for the infantry, siege and fortress, artillery and train, divided into a first period of 150 days in the recruit school and three recalls of thirty days each; and to 365 days for the other armies, divided into a first period of 281 days and two recalls of forty-two days each. The marine troops, including the coast artillery, serve 300 days in all. Finally the antiquated system of *indelta,* by which troops were quartered upon the landowners, and which exists from the time of Charles IX., is to be gradually abolished, until by 1913 it will have disappeared altogether. In 1901 the strength of the beväring was 250,000 men, that of the landstorm 200,000.

The "Norwegian Question," the beginnings of which we have already traced, falls into three periods. In the first period, from 1814 to 1872, the point at issue was whether Norway was a conquered province or the equal partner of Sweden in an equal monarchy. In the second period, from 1872 to 1885, the question to the fore was whether the Act of Union, which was negotiated by Sweden as a treaty and enacted by the Norwegian storthing as a law, was on a level with other enactments of the storthing and

subject, therefore, to amendment and alteration by that body, or a fundamental compact between the storthing and the king in his capacity as monarch of Sweden, and therefore never to be altered save by agreement between the parties to it. In the third period, from 1885 to 1905, the question of consular and diplomatic representation was the red thread running through the union controversy.

The first period was brought practically to a close by two concessions on the part of the dual monarch. In 1844 Norway, like Sweden, was given the right to hoist its own flag, with the mark of union affixed in the upper corner, over its navy, as six years before it had been given a similar right with reference to the merchant marine. In 1859 the Norwegian storthing passed a resolution proposing the abolition of the office of viceroy. Charles XV. viewed the change with favor, though the attitude of the Swedish diet and press finally compelled him to withhold his sanction from the measure. In 1860 the storthing formally declared the complete equality of the two kingdoms to be the basis of the union, and the king, in advocating a revision of the Act of Union to the Swedish diet, asserted that this principle must be the point of initiation of such revision. The office of viceroy was abolished in 1872. The second and third periods we must dwell upon more at length, since the former results in Norway's securing parliamentary government, and the latter in her withdrawal from the union.

In 1869 Charles XV. assented to an act of the storthing making its sessions annual, instead of triennial, after 1871. In the latter year a definite proposition of revision of the Act of Union came before the storthing from the hands of a joint commission to which the matter had been referred in 1863. Under the influence of the Pan-Scandinavianism that followed Denmark's defeat in 1864, the Norwegian members of the commission had given their assent to propositions that meant a considerable extension of the purposes of the union and the powers of the dual monarch. Immediately a patriotic democratic party was formed, under the leadership of Johan Sverdrup, to resist any diminution of Norwegian liberties. This did not mean resistance to all change, however. The constitution of Norway, framed as it was in 1814, was based on the theory of the separation of the powers of government. The king was, therefore, an independent executive, and the cabinet council responsible to the storthing only for its own advice, not for

the king's decrees. Moreover, in 1814 the storthing explicitly refused to accord the cabinet council the right to withhold countersignature of the royal decrees, declaring that the king ought not to be deprived of all his privileges. Finally, the constitution of 1814 did not allow the members to attend the debates of the storthing. Now, however, in 1872, the new democratic party determined to throw overboard what they had declared to be antiquities of the constitution, and to make Norway a parliamentary state. A bill was speedily passed authorizing the ministers to attend the sessions of the storthing. Charles saw what the measure looked to: namely, ministerial responsibility and the restriction of the royal choice to the leaders of the majority—the democratic party. Of course he vetoed it. The bill repassed in 1877 and again in 1880, receiving each time the royal veto. At this last passage, by the "resolution of June 9," the storthing declared that the measure was now a law conformable to the constitution. The king, however, advised by the law faculty of Christiania University, and by his Norwegian ministers of the conservative party, held his ground, his contention and that of his advisers being simply that while the royal veto was merely suspensive of ordinary legislation, it was absolute with reference to measures the effect of which would be to transform the Norwegian constitution, and, therefore, to alter entirely the character of the dual monarchy. Whatever may have been the validity of this argument, the storthing soon found the means to carry its point. By the Norwegian constitution the lower house of the storthing elects the upper house, and from this in turn the high court of justice is, for the most part, taken. The election of 1882—the lower house holds for three years—was overwhelmingly democratic. The king's opponents were able, therefore, to reconstitute the high court of justice, to bring the king's ministers to trial for giving "evil counsel" and to secure their condemnation. Oscar now yielded. In 1884 he asked Sverdrup, the leader of the democratic left, to form a ministry. Norway had secured a parliamentary government, and had established the right of the storthing to enact amendments to the Norwegian constitution in the manner prescribed by the act of the union for ordinary legislation.

We now turn to the third phase of the union controversy. Nothing was determined in 1814 with reference to the conduct of the foreign affairs of the dual monarchy. Down to 1885, how-

ever, these were, as a matter of fact, in the charge of the Swedish minister of foreign affairs, who, after 1835, acted in consultation, it will be remembered, with the Norwegian minister of state at Stockholm, and who always represented the monarch of the union. But in 1885 this arrangement underwent an important change in consequence of political developments in Sweden. By an amendment to the Swedish constitution of that year the prime minister of the cabinet council entered the ministerial council for foreign affairs, the idea being to render the minister for foreign affairs amenable to the dominant opinion of the riksdag, in accordance with the principle of Sweden's newly found parliamentarism. The consequences were twofold; Norway's representative in the ministerial council for foreign affairs was now but one against two; and, in the second place, whereas formerly foreign affairs had been conducted by a minister whose responsibility was to the monarch of the union alone, they now passed largely into the hands of a parliamentary agency responsible to the Swedish riksdag. All this, moreover, was practically simultaneous with the establishment of the principle of cabinet responsibility in Norway itself. Of course the Norwegian government did not accept these evident slights without protest. It proposed that a ministerial council for foreign affairs should be constituted of three Swedish and three Norwegian cabinet members. To this proposition the Swedish government would give only a qualified assent, and for a time the matter was dropped, a conservative ministry being for the moment in power at Christiania. Meantime, however, in the interval of its opposition, the democratic left had been becoming more and more radical, under the leadership of Steen. The elections of 1891 brought this party back into power, upon a platform calling for universal suffrage, direct taxation, a separate foreign ministry, and a separate consulate for Norway. In 1892 and 1893 the storthing passed successive resolutions calling for the latter reform, both of which, however, King Oscar vetoed. The elections of 1894 and 1897 turned upon the question of separate consuls for Norway, and eventually of a distinct foreign ministry. The "Patriots" were overwhelmingly returned to power both times. In 1899 the storthing passed for the third time a bill to cut out the sign of union from the Norwegian emblem. The king allowed it to become law, but Swedish opinion ran high and foreign observers anticipated an open rupture.

This event, however, marked a temporary halt in the conflict. Next year the Steen government secured its programme of universal suffrage. In the November election of that year every man who had completed his twenty-fifth year was able to cast a vote for the storthing. The result, if not ironical, was certainly a surprise to the radicals, for it was nothing less than the capture of socialistic Christiania by the conservatives. It was now hoped and freely predicted that the radical government, confronted with possible defeat, would hasten to offer a settlement of the union controversy along lines acceptable to the king. In January, 1902, a new joint committee—the second since 1895—was appointed by the king to deal with the consular question. The committee took a purely ministerial view of its competence and so contented itself with reporting, in July, two alternative methods of settlement, representing the views, respectively, of its Swedish and Norwegian members; Norway should either have its own consuls, subordinate to a certain extent to the minister of foreign affairs, or a separate consular service entirely under the Norwegian control. In the negotiations that ensued, first at Stockholm and then at Christiania, the crux of the difficulty became revealed: if Norway were given a separate consular service, what assurance would the monarch have that the consular agents of the Norwegian government would not presume to undertake diplomatic functions? The Swedish government's *communiqué,* of March, 1903, attempted to dispose of this question on the following basis: (1) Separate consular services were to be established for Sweden and Norway, responsible to their respective governments; (2) the relations of the separate consuls to the minister of foreign affairs and the diplomatic service of the union were to be determined by identical laws, which were to be unalterable save by the consent of both governments. Hagerup was now at the head of a new conservative ministry at Christiania. In May, 1904, he dispatched to Stockholm an outline of the identical laws to which Norway would be willing to accede and which stipulated, among other things, that the consular administration in Christiania should regularly inform the minister of foreign affairs of nominations and orders, and that when an affair seemed likely to assume a diplomatic character the consul should report directly to that official for instructions. The Swedish reply was delayed till November. It insisted upon the insufficiency of the securities afforded by Hagerup's propositions, insisted that the

minister of foreign affairs should have the power of selection, supervision, and appointment of Norwegian consuls, and proposed that the title "King of Norway and Sweden" should become "King of Sweden and Norway" in the consular exequatures.

This marks the end of negotiations. In the meantime the Russo-Japanese War had been waging in the East, and Russian arms had been incurring defeat after defeat. Now the most effective argument for the integrity of the union had always been the danger of Russian encroachment. Indeed, in 1851 the Russian government had demanded that a portion of the Norwegian coast be handed over to the Russian Lapps on the Norwegian frontier. Four years later King Oscar, in compensation for his assistance in the Crimean War, had received a treaty from England and France guaranteeing the integrity of his dominion against Russian aggressions. But now what would become of this guarantee if the union should be broken? The end of the Russian bugaboo inclined patriotic Norwegians to believe that they did not care. In the middle of May, 1905, the storthing passed an act establishing a Norwegian consular service on what purported to be the lines laid down by the Swedish *communiqué* of March, 1903. On May 28 the royal veto arrived. Immediately Premier Michelsen and his associates tendered their resignations, which, however, the king refused to accept. This turned out to be crucial. The Norwegian ministry now declared that the king had been guilty of an unconstitutional act and had, therefore, forfeited his position. On June 7 the storthing formally declared the union dissolved, on the ground that the royal power had become inoperative, and authorized the council of state to exercise the powers of government "until further notice." It also adopted an address to King Oscar, animadverting to the "course of events which has shown itself more powerful than the wish or desire of individuals," contending that the union had become an actual source of danger to the continued amity of the Swedish and Norwegian peoples, and requesting the king to select a prince of his own house as king of Norway. The king, in response, entered solemn protest against these proceedings, and summoned the riksdag in extraordinary session for June 20. The question that now suggested itself to everybody was, will Sweden fight? All apprehensions of war were, however, speedily dissipated when the king, in opening the riksdag, urged peace. A special committee of the riksdag, appointed to consider the ques-

tion, reported two conditions upon which Norway ought to be allowed to depart the union in peace: First, that the dissolution of the union be formally requested by a new storthing, elected on that issue, or in consequence of a favorable plebiscite; second, that certain matters of common interest to the two countries be determined by negotiation and treaty. "The maintenance of the union by force," declared the report, "would make it a source of weakness instead of strength." The riksdag, after a stormy session, adopted the report unanimously on July 27. On the same day the storthing voted a referendum. This was completed August 13, after a dexterous campaign for independence into which the noted Björnstjerne Björnson is said to have "flung himself with all the fury of a berserker"; 368,200 votes were cast for the dissolution of the union and 184 against it.

The negotiations demanded by Sweden resulted in the Karlstad agreement of September 23. The independence of Norway was recognized; a neutral zone, fifteen kilometers wide, was established each side of the common frontier; the demolition of all fortifications within the neutral zone was arranged for; also the dismantlement of the old Norwegian fortifications at Fredriksten, Gyldenloeve, and Overbjerget; pasturage was granted in common to the Lapps of both countries for their reindeer until 1917; it was agreed that neither country should place prohibitive export or import duties upon commodities, nor create any obstacles of any sort to the free passage of goods through its dominions, nor levy higher duties upon the goods of the citizens of the other than upon those of its own; finally, by a provision which bids fair to mark a step in the history of international law, it was stipulated, not only that all future disputes between the two countries, except those affecting "the independence, integrity, or vital interests of either," should be referred to The Hague Court, but, also, that the question as to whether any given dispute does involve one or more of those points should likewise be referred to that tribunal. The agreement was accepted by the storthing October 9 and by the riksdag four days later. In the meantime, though there had been at first some talk of a republic, the Norwegian throne, upon which no native prince had sat for over five hundred years, had been informally tendered to Prince Charles, second son of Crown Prince Frederick of Denmark, and on October 19 word came that the offer would be accepted. The formal tender and acceptance took place at

Copenhagen on November 20. The coronation of the new monarch, who has taken the title of Haakon VII., occurred in June, 1906. It is perhaps natural that Americans should feel something of regret that Norway, the completest democracy on earth, a community of peasants for the most part, but one remove from poverty in large part, should have chosen to call in a foreign prince to institute the expensive heraldry of constitutional monarchy.

The new king was born August 3, 1872, married Maud, third daughter of King Edward VII. Their eldest son, Prince Olaf, Crown Prince, was born July 2, 1903. Like Sweden, the history of Norway has been peaceful and uneventful since the accession of the new ruler. He is proving to be the right man for the people he governs, and they are developing internally under him. Recently, the most important occurrence in the country's history was the death of its patriot, poet dramatist, novelist and reformer, who had borne so large a part in securing the separation of Norway from Sweden, Bjornstperne Bjornson, on April 26, 1910, at Paris. He had been taken to that city in the preceding November for special treatment, but all the skill of the famous medical men was unavailing. So deeply was his loss felt that when news of it was received at Christiania, a banquet given by the foreign minister to the ministers and the storthing, was immediately adjourned, King Haakon himself being the first to suggest this mark of respect. The Norwegian warship Norge bore the body of Bjornstjerne Bjornson to Christiania, and royal honors were accorded it.

Oscar II. of Sweden lived into old age, celebrating with his wife, Queen Sophia, their golden wedding, June 6, 1907. In August of that same year, in order to cement friendly relations with the United States, he sent Prince Wilhelm of Sweden to the latter country, where, on August 28, he visited President Roosevelt at Oyster Bay. This revered old king passed away on December 8, 1907, being succeeded by Gustav V., born June 11, 1858. He married Princess Victoria, daughter of Frederick, Grand Duke of Baden. The Crown Prince, Gustav Adolf, Duke of Scania, was born November 11, 1882, and married Princess Margaret Victoria, daughter of Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, their eldest son being Gustav Adolf, born April 22, 1906. The new king is simple in tastes and habits, almost his first act being to order the abolishment of the pompous ceremonies which had attended the opening of parliament, so that when this body convened January 8, 1908, the new ruler was welcomed by his governing houses with strict

simplicity. The reign of King Gustav V. has not been marked with any unusual events, the country being prosperous, the people contented, and the government disposed to grant additional liberties as there is public demand for them. A popular measure of this kind was passed February 13, 1909, providing that all inhabitants of the country, over twenty-four, be entitled to a vote, with proportional representation in parliament.

Christian VIII. of Denmark was a thorough autocrat; Frederick VII., on the other hand, was entirely sympathetic with the demand of his people for a constitutional government, and to the day of his death made laudable resistance to all counsels to despotic courses. Nevertheless he found it necessary to conform his conduct to the exigencies of his conflict with the duchies, wherefore the "Constitution of '55" was less liberal in some respects than the one which he had granted at the outset of his reign. It happened, therefore, that, in 1865, the war with Germany being over, and the disposition of Slesvig-Holstein finally settled as far as Denmark was concerned, Danish liberals began to clamor for the "Constitution of 1849." Christian IX. consented to restore it with one important modification: the upper chamber of the bicameral riksdag, the landthing, instead of being elective, was to be composed permanently of sixty-six propertied members, who were to be chosen every eight years, twelve by the king and fifty-four by indirect election at the hands of large property holders. This change was opposed vigorously by the liberals, and not till 1866 was the new constitution promulgated. The other features of the "Constitution of '49" remained: the lower chamber, the folkething, was to be chosen for three years; its members were to be reapportioned from time to time—in 1902 there were 114; the right of suffrage fell to all male citizens thirty years of age not criminals, paupers, or servants resident with their employers. Moreover, religious and civil liberty were guaranteed by a number of provisions, securing the right of association, of public assembly, the freedom of the press from censorship and liability only to the law, the writ of habeas corpus, jury trial, the comparative independence of the judiciary.

Until 1872 the conservative government controlled a majority in both chambers. That year, however, the broad suffrage put the liberal left in power. This party, like its counterpart in the Swedish lower chamber, was constituted predominantly of frugal, even par-

siminious, agriculturists, who beheld public expenditure with lamentation. Moreover, under the leadership of Berg, a remarkable parliamentarian and one of the most enlightened exponents of democracy that modern Europe has seen, it speedily laid down the programme of compelling the king to choose his ministers from the majority in the popular chamber. The king, on the other hand, kept his conservative minister, Estrup, and urged an ambitious naval and military increase and defensive fortification. Till 1875 the folkething confined itself to protest and agitation, and rather tamely voted the budget on the ministry's terms. That year, however, it plucked up courage to refuse the budget.

This audacious course must necessarily have brought the king to his knees, it would seem, since article 49 of the constitution forbids the collection of any impost without the authorization of the riksdag. Article 25, however, says that "the king may, in case of urgency, when the riksdag is not in session, decree provisional laws." To this article the king and his ministers now had recourse. The regular rejection of the budget and the equally regular decree of a provisional budget, upon the adjournment of the chambers, now became the order of procedure of Denmark's pretended constitutional government. Moreover, King Christian did not confine himself, as Bismarck had done in a similar struggle with the Prussian diet, between the years 1862 and 1866, to promulgate the items of the last authorized budget, but added whatever other items he saw fit.

In 1879, the left, owing to the entrance of socialistic elements within its fold, became divided. The government took advantage of the opportunity to get its provisional budgets confirmed and to secure the sanction of the folkething to its extensive scheme of fortification of Copenhagen. In 1885, however, Berg and his adherents were again in control in the popular chamber. The government retorted upon the country by promulgating, not only provisional budgets, but measures increasing the police, restricting the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, and the press, and of assembling, and authorizing arbitrary imprisonment—the first victim of which was Berg himself. But again the left, becoming now urban rather than rural, the workingman's party, rather than that of the peasantry, fell into dissension and schism. At the same time, 1890, it lost the leadership of Berg by death. By withdrawing many of its arbitrary enactments of the previous year,

the government was again able to get its budget voted regularly and constitutionally. In 1894 Estrup retired. Next year the democratic left was a majority once more, and the fight for a responsible ministry was renewed—destined to a happy outcome this time.

At the close of the session of 1900 the eight most prominent members of the governmental party in the landsthing withdrew their allegiance to the ministry and formed themselves into an opposing section. The position of the king was now untenable. In July, 1901, he accepted a liberal ministry. After a struggle of three decades, during which despotism had vainly tried to conceal its real lineaments beneath a mask of constitutional form, Denmark had won a parliamentary government. "It was no longer enough," said Professor Deuntzer, the new prime minister, "that the nation, through the legislature, influenced the passing of laws, but the application and carrying out of them must be intrusted to men who enjoy the confidence of the nation," *i. e.*, a responsible ministry.

In the midst of their political conflicts Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes have continued to produce writers of European reputation. The era has also been one of great material prosperity and development for all three nations. In its foreign relations the Danish government has of late years shown a disposition to draw away from the old Russian connection and to seek friendly relations with Germany. Sweden also has inclined to a German connection. But more recently apprehensions have found expression in certain quarters that the kaiser's real purpose, in 1905, in disputing France's claims to a unique position in Morocco was to elicit from Europe a general recognition of the principle, "Special interests, special rights," or at least a precedent fortifying that principle; and that what seemed defeat for Germany in the subsequent Algeciras conference was really a victory, the eventful fruit of which will be German paramountcy in Denmark and Holland. On the other hand, the present weak condition of Russia precludes either danger or assistance from that quarter. The wisest foreign policy for all the Scandinavian powers—and at the same time a perfectly feasible one—would seem to be a triple alliance of the north, backed by the British fleet. The relationship between the new Norwegian house and the British royal family, as well as more solid reasons, would assure British resistance to any plan whereby a recuperated Russian fleet would find a depot and harbor

on the Norwegian coast. In the second place the present motive of British policy seems to be to checkmate Germany at every turn, and certainly, if it came to defending the integrity of Denmark, this policy would have the alarmed public opinion of Europe back of it. Finally, looking at the matter simply from the standpoint of the Scandinavian nations, a close defensive alliance would be one step more toward that Pan-Scandinavian federation which has long been a cherished project of Scandinavian patriots, and which the divorce of Sweden and Norway, removing as it does all causes for mutual irritation, can but hasten. Already Norway, Sweden, and Denmark have one system of coinage, and many financial and commercial regulations in common.

The death of King Christian occurred on January 29, 1906, at the great age of eighty-eight years. As the oldest of European monarchs, and as the father of the Queen of England, the King of Greece, and the Empress Dowager of Russia, and the grandfather of the new king of Norway, Christian was fittingly known as the "patriarch of Europe." A zealous defender of his prerogative almost to the day of his death, Christian was, in point of view and character, an eighteenth-century benevolent monarch of the best type. Many anecdotes illustrate his parental fondness for his people, particularly the peasant folk, with whom he delighted to mingle incognito, and whose regard he never forfeited, even in the midst of his struggles with their representatives. He was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son, a man sixty-two years old. He ruled as Frederick VIII.

King Frederick VIII. died suddenly in Hamburg, May 14, 1912. His short reign was uneventful and chiefly notable for the establishment of more friendly relations with the German Empire, caused by the dying out, in a large degree, of the bitter memories of the war of 1864.

The Crown Prince Christian, who was born September 26, 1870, succeeded his father, and May 15, 1912, was proclaimed, as Christian X., King of Denmark. The new king married Princess Alexandrine Auguste, Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, on April 26, 1898.

On December 13, 1912, a bill passed the Lower House giving women the right to vote and sit in the Folketing.

King Hakon of Norway paid a visit to England in December, 1912. On January 23, 1913, he opened the Storthing. In June, 1913, he visited Denmark and met King Christian. In October he again visited England to attend the marriage of Prince Arthur of Connaught.

The Norwegian system of conscription which had long been established, partially exempted the northern part of the country. In January the Government announced their determination to end this condition and place all sections of the country on an equal footing as regards conscription. Early in 1913 M. Bratlié who had formed a ministry after the crisis in 1912, resigned and a new cabinet was formed with M. Knudsen at its head.

In Sweden politics were much in evidence during the year 1914, caused by the popular movement for an increase of armament. On account of the guarantee given by the Baltic convention of 1908 whereby Sweden's territory should remain inviolate, the Liberal government under Herr Staaff halted the naval programme begun by the former Conservative government. The Liberal government in addition made out a plan to submit the whole question of armament and national defense to a Commission of Inquiry hoping that an adequate system of national defense could be devised without increasing the present expenditures or of lengthening the term of military service. But the people were restless, and public apprehension was aroused that the nation was not adequately guarded. Sven Hedin headed a movement for national subscription, and over $5,000,000 was raised for a new battleship and for army aeroplanes.

In Stockholm a remarkable demonstration took place headed by peasants from all the provinces, who demanded that steps be taken leading to more thorough national defense. In February, 1914, Premier Staaff resigned and was succeeded by Herr Hammarskjöld. This carried through a more elaborate defense plan.

Since the accession of King Christian X as King of Denmark on May 15, 1912, the progress of the country has been most gratifying along industrial lines. Soon after the King's accession the Reform Bill which amended the Constitution of 1860 was passed. This not only gave women the right to vote and sit in Parliament, but also abolished the election by privilege and royal nomination. Owing to the steadily declining number of life peers the Liberals and Radicals came into the ascendency. During the two years 1913 and 1914 Denmark has grown enormously, and is rapidly develop-

ing from an agricultural state to a manufacturing one. While the leading occupation of Denmark is still agricultural, it has been estimated that by 1925 manufacturing will have passed agriculture in the value of output.

In 1914 Denmark settled her long standing differences with her North Atlantic island possession—Iceland. Iceland will hereafter have complete home rule, but all bills are subject to veto by the Parliament at Copenhagen. The new constitution of Iceland grants suffrage to every Icelander irrespective of sex.

At the outbreak of the great European War in August, 1914, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark each promptly announced that their countries would remain absolutely neutral and that steps had been taken to that end and that a rigid and strict interpretation of the laws of neutrality would be followed.

Chapter XXII

SCANDINAVIA AND THE WAR. 1914-1917

THE outbreak of the European War in August, 1914, of course raised numerous vital problems in the three Scandinavian monarchies—Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Both Denmark and Sweden were especially affected, inasmuch as the former had a common frontier with Germany, the latter with Russia. Although at the outbreak of the war it was not deemed certain that either Germany or Russia would violate the neutrality of any of the Scandinavian countries, which, as we have seen, had been declared promptly, it became not only a matter of duty, but also one of self-preservation for these two countries to increase their military establishments sufficiently to insure the observation of neutrality. This was done by a partial mobilization.

It soon became evident that it was highly important from every point of view, politically as well as economically, that a certain amount of co-operation and definite understanding should be established among the three Scandinavian countries. Rumors soon were afloat to the effect that an alliance had been made between Sweden and Norway for mutual aid in maintaining their neutrality. That there was some foundation for these rumors became evident. The Swedish King, Gustavus V., invited the two other Scandinavian monarchs to a conference at the Swedish port of Malmö, located on The Sound near the southern tip of Sweden and only sixteen miles east southeast of Copenhagen. This conference was opened on December 18, 1914, and the three Scandinavian Kings—Gustavus V. of Sweden, Haakon VII. of Norway and Christian X. of Denmark—attended, each accompanied by the foreign minister of his nation. A glance at the map of Europe will show the importance these nations of the northwest would have in neutral trade with Russia, Germany, France and England at war, and the inevitability of interference from belligerents.

The effect of the war on the three Scandinavian countries in a general way was threefold. In all three countries there was a certain increase in the sentiment for preparedness. This was

especially true in Sweden, which for years had been living under the constant fear of any aggressive designs on the part of Russia. Denmark, too, rested uneasily under the spectre of an invasion on the part of Germany, which might be caused by this country's desire to gain a new base for operations against England.

Naturally the war interfered seriously with the regular routine of commerce and industry. The results were abnormal financial and fiscal conditions. To be sure, some industries and some branches of commerce as a result of the war prospered as they had never done before. On the other hand, there were others which were equally affected, but in the opposite direction. The last, and perhaps the most dangerous effect of the war was the continuous creation of opportunities for dissensions between the Scandinavian countries on the one side and some of the belligerents on the other.

In January, 1915, the Swedish Government complained to Great Britain against the arbitrary detention of and interference with American and other neutral vessels bound for Sweden. Great Britain had based her actions in this respect on the claims that contraband in large quantities had been imported into Germany by way of Sweden. In order to avoid any complications as a result of this British claim, the Swedish Government on January 15, 1915, published a decree which prohibited absolutely the exportation to any belligerent country of war munitions or of any materials which might be used in their manufacture. In the next month, February, 1915, it became more and more evident that the German submarine campaign held vast possibilities of complications, and the owners of all Swedish vessels were instructed to paint the word "Sweden" and the national colors on the sides of their vessels in order to remove any possibility of their being mistaken for belligerent property.

In the same month a conference was held at Christiania, Norway, amongst representatives from the three Scandinavian countries for the purpose of discussing the use of floating mines. The same conference protested in strong terms against the abuse of neutral flags on the part of Great Britain. It also considered the danger to which neutral shipping had been exposed as a result of the creation on the part of Germany of a "war zone," discussed in the volume on "Germany."

In July, 1915, Sweden had again occasion to complain to

Great Britain. The cause of this complaint was the interference on the part of Great Britain with the mails between the United States and Sweden, which, it was claimed by Sweden, were opened by British officials, an action which broke international law in respect to the inviolability of neutral mails.

Against Russia, too, Sweden made various complaints, claiming that Swedish neutrality had been violated. This difficulty was overcome in the early part of the summer of 1915 by an apology tendered by the Russian Government stating that the violations had been accidental. An understanding was also arrived at between Sweden and Russia in respect to the relations existing between these two countries as affecting their financial, commercial, and industrial interests.

Norway, like Sweden, instructed its shipowners to paint their vessels with the word "Norge" and the Norwegian colors. In spite of this precautionary measure, the continuous torpedoing of Norwegian merchantmen by German submarines led to a series of complaints on the part of the Norwegian government, most of which were satisfactorily adjusted by means of apologies and settlements of damages caused.

Difficulties developed with Great Britain as a result of the capture of a German warship by a British warship within the three mile limit established by international law. A prompt apology for this violation of Norway's neutrality, extended late in July, 1915, by Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, met with general approval and acceptance and brought the incident quickly to an end. Scarcity of food and excessively high prices caused a grave situation in August and September, 1915. This was especially true in Norway, where both the scarcity and the high prices were greater than either in Denmark or in Sweden.

The most important event in the political history of Norway during the year 1915 was the participation for the first time, on October 11, on the part of Norwegian women, in the elections held at that time. This participation was the result of a law passed in 1913 giving suffrage to all women regardless of whether they paid taxes or not.

Denmark, like Sweden and Norway, found it necessary at various times during 1915 to complain to the belligerents regarding violations of her neutrality. Against Great Britain the claim was made that the British Order in Council of March 15, 1915,

interfered with neutral shipping in a manner that from the point of view of international law was illegal. Against Germany complaint was made as a result of the sinking of Danish steamers and as a result of the destruction by the Germans of a British submarine which had run aground on one of the Danish islands and should be, therefore, safe from attack.

The constitutional reforms which in 1914 had been defeated by the Landsthing were again brought up by the Folkething in the Spring of 1915 and this time were passed and became law upon the King's assent on June 5, 1915. These reforms abolished property qualification as a basis for voting for the members of the Landsthing; deprived the crown of its former prerogative of appointing twelve members of the Landsthing, and gave full political rights, including both the right to vote and the right to sit in the Folkething, to women. The women of Iceland were enfranchised two weeks later.

The month of September, 1915, brought the Northern Interparliamentary Union Congress to Copenhagen. Representatives from Denmark, Norway and Sweden met and considered the various problems which had been raised by the war. Besides discussing these problems a result of the Congress was the passage of a resolution favoring in strong terms the maintenance of neutrality and a continuance of co-operation among the three Scandinavian states. In the same month and at the same place a Peace Congress was held, again attended by representatives from the three Scandinavian countries, expressing itself as especially opposed to compulsory military service.

In spite of the co-operation which had promptly been established at the beginning of the war, the attitudes of the three Scandinavian countries toward the belligerents differed. Denmark, which had never forgotten or forgiven Prussia's aggressiveness in 1864, though, of course, officially maintaining her neutrality, favored the cause of the Allies rather than that of the Central Powers.

The same was true of Norway, which had always maintained very close commercial relations with England and whose dynasty was also closely related to that of Great Britain. In Sweden conditions were different. There commercial, artistic and literary interests had always been more closely allied to Germany than to any other country. Politically Sweden had nothing to fear from Germany, but much from Russia. Its dynasty by marriage was closely

allied to the Hohenzollerns as well as to some of the minor reigning families of Germany.

It was, therefore, not very surprising that at the opening of the Riksdag on January 17, 1916, the King of Sweden urged a strengthening of the Swedish military establishment so that the country might be prepared against any possible violation of its neutrality. This, if it aimed at any one particular belligerent, of course was aimed against Russia. The Swedish Prime Minister, Hammarskjoeld, in a public speech made somewhat later that month, gave expression to what was then more or less public sentiment in Sweden by charging both Denmark and Norway with a somewhat one-sided interpretation of their neutrality which favored the Allies, and especially Great Britain, at the expense of Germany. He warned his country of the possibility of being involved in the war and left no doubt that if this should happen Sweden would be forced to join the Central Powers rather than the Allies. Discussions in the Swedish parliament of the various problems caused by the war seemed to indicate that at least at that time the Premier's attitude was in agreement with that of the majority of Swedish people. To a certain extent the Swedish ill-feeling toward the Allies was the result of the blockade and of the strict enforcement of it on the part of Great Britain. This ill-feeling was considerably abated, however, in the early part of the Spring of 1916 by a friendly adjustment of the various grievances which Sweden claimed to have against Great Britain.

About the same time, the Aland Islands, about half way between the southwestern coast of Finland and the eastern coast of Sweden, and a short distance northeast of Stockholm, became the basis of other difficulties. According to a treaty between Russia and Sweden, these islands were not to be fortified or used for any military purpose; but at the outbreak of the Great European War, Russia raised the question of fortification. In May, 1916, however, France and Great Britain procured from Russia assurances that if the islands should be fortified these fortifications would be temporary, only for the duration of the war. Difficulties with the Allies again arose in midsummer, 1916, but were adjusted as a result of the conciliatory attitude taken by the Swedish Government. The same attitude in respect to submarine attacks which had been made on Allied vessels in Scandinavian waters within the three-mile limit and in violation of the neutrality still further removed the dangers

of actual conflict between Sweden and the Allies, and in October, 1916, Norway, Sweden and Denmark issued decrees forbidding belligerent submarines to use their respective waters as a base of operations.

In Norway a general strike lasting for a week occurred in June, 1916, as a result of a bill pending in Parliament and providing for compulsory arbitration in labor disputes. In spite of the passage of this bill the strike was called off. Female suffrage was still further extended in Norway by making women eligible to the Council of State, as well as to the Storthing.

In Denmark the treaty for the sale of the Danish West Indies to the United States (q. v.) was discussed by Parliament and was finally referred to a popular vote. Various changes in the composition of the Danish Cabinet occurred during 1916, the most important of which was the addition of three members without portfolios, one each to be chosen from the Conservative, Socialist and Left parties.

During 1917, the economic conditions in Denmark became very difficult. The sale of all alcoholic beverages was temporarily prohibited on March 1, 1917. Bread cards were introduced one month later. Especially critical was the coal situation. Denmark has no coal and previous to the war the 3,000,000 tons which were needed by her industries and railways were imported from England and Germany. These imports, of course, stopped with the outbreak of the war, if not entirely, at least to such an extent that it became necessary not only to strictly regulate the trade in coal, but to curtail its consumption. Many industries were permitted to keep going only during certain hours and the production of gas for illuminating purposes had to be greatly reduced. For over three months Copenhagen was without light at night and there as well as in other parts of the country candles had to be used extensively. Street cars were run on greatly reduced schedules. Trade in wheat, butter, sugar, and other foodstuffs was strictly regulated. In spite of these difficulties and in spite of the fact that Denmark's comparatively large foreign business became very difficult to transact, prosperity was general. Like many other neutral countries, Denmark suffered severe maritime losses as a result of the submarine war.

The food situation in Norway was very similar to that in Denmark and required strict Government regulation. Norway's losses due to the submarine war were especially heavy during 1916, one

hundred and eighty-six Norwegian ships with a combined tonnage of 260,000 tons, having been lost. This increased a strong feeling against Germany and there were rumors at various times that Norway would come to an open break with Germany. Another conference of the three Scandinavian powers was held at Christiania on November 29, 1916, at which the various problems caused by the war were discussed.

The renewal of the submarine war early in 1917 naturally raised new problems for Sweden, Denmark and Norway. These were discussed at a meeting at Stockholm in February, 1917. The result of this discussion was that an identical note was handed to the German Diplomatic Representatives at Copenhagen, Christiania and Stockholm, protesting against the submarine blockade, refusing to admit its legality and holding Germany accountable for damages.

In March, 1917, a Cabinet crisis occurred, caused by the defeat of a Governmental appropriation measure providing for 30,000,000 crowns for the purpose of preserving Sweden's neutrality. In April, 1917, economic conditions reached a crisis. Demonstrations against the shortage and the high prices of food commodities occurred at many points. These disturbances were repeated throughout the next few months and in some of the larger centres of population they were accompanied with considerable violence. Popular sentiment influenced considerably by food conditions became very bitter against Germany, and found expression in many severe criticisms of the Queen, a former German Princess. In the Fall of 1917, as a result of the Government's defeat in the new elections another change of Cabinet became necessary. The new Cabinet, headed by Nils Eden, stated that its policy would be the maintenance of strict neutrality and absolute impartiality between the belligerents; continuation of the co-operation established between the three Scandinavian Powers.

As a result of the Russian Revolution new problems had to be faced by Sweden. The principal problem was that of the recognition of the new Republic of Finland.

Chapter XXIII

POLITICAL EVENTS. 1917-1928

IN THE Spring of 1917, at the suggestion of the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, an International Socialistic Peace Conference was held at Stockholm. Except for representatives of the Russian, German and Austrian Socialists, and of Socialists from neutral countries, the Congress was not well attended. For although there was a decided sentiment on the part of French and British Socialists that delegates should be sent to Stockholm even though they were to meet there delegates from the enemy countries, both the French and British Governments eventually refused to grant the necessary passports. A similar attitude toward the Stockholm Congress was shown on the part of the Government of the United States. In the latter country, however, only a minority of the Socialists really desired representation at the Stockholm Congress. The result of the Conference, therefore, was practically nil so far as the ostensible object of its calling was concerned; it had far-reaching effects from the founding of the "Third International" by the Zimmerwald Commission.

In August, 1918, a special session of the Norwegian Parliament was called for the purpose of formulating plans which would result in increased agricultural production. Various committees were appointed, which eventually recommended an increase in acreage of some 20,000 acres, distribution of fertilizers, a more thorough organization of agricultural labor, which was to be effected by cooperation between central labor organizations and the farmers' associations, and the appropriation of considerable funds which would make it possible to carry out these proposals.

In Sweden the various new tax measures proposed by the radical Government, looking toward an increased war profit tax and a heavier taxation of various other business enterprises met with defeat in June, 1918.

The internal disturbances in Finland brought before the Swedish government the question of what attitude it was to take toward the various Finnish political parties struggling for supremacy. It

was finally decided to maintain neutrality; generally speaking, Swedish sympathies were with the de facto Government of Finland.

After the end of the war the three Scandinavian countries decided to continue their co-operation during the Peace Conference.

The one of the three Scandinavian countries most vitally interested in the Peace negotiations was Denmark. Suddenly, with the end of the war and the defeat of Germany, the discussion of the 50-year-old Schleswig-Holstein question was revived.

During the period in which this question, as far as the Danish point of view was concerned, had seemed impossible of an equitable readjustment, the Danish demands had undergone considerable modifications. All Denmark desired was that the strictly Danish parts of Schleswig-Holstein should be reunited with Denmark, and that those parts in which the population was partially Danish and partially German, should be allowed to decide for themselves their future political status. Indeed, Denmark was positively adverse to saddling herself with any such parts of Schleswig-Holstein as were predominantly German, and the matter seemed especially suited to decision by plebiscite.

The end of the war and the defeat of the Central Powers, affected Norway less than the two other Scandinavian States. Having been throughout the entire war pro-Ally in sentiment, the victory of the Allies proved not only not a disappointment, but a realization of Norway's hopes and desires. The social and political upheaval in Germany likewise brought on no strong reaction, because Norway is an industrial state to a much lesser degree than either Sweden or Denmark. With the beginning of the Peace Conference, the principal interest in Norway became the question of compensation for her especially heavy losses suffered as a result of the submarine war. Internally, the most important questions facing the Norwegian people at the end of 1918 were the re-distribution of election districts, price fixing, and reduction in armaments.

Sweden was affected to a much greater extent by the German revolution. Encouraged by its results, Swedish Independent Socialists made demands for the abolishment of the monarchial form of government and the establishment of a republic. They also suggested the formation of soldiers' and workmen's councils, à la Russia. However, these agitations quickly subsided, especially as a result of the attitude of the Government, which lost no time in promising additional reforms looking to a further democratization

of the Government, including a new election law granting the franchise to both men and women on equal terms, with provisions permitting the elected representatives of the people to control foreign affairs as well as the declaring of war and the making of peace.

Between Norway and the United States, as a result of the war, some irritation had been caused due to the delay on the part of the United States in settling the bill for the payment for Norwegian ships which had been chartered or rather requisitioned by the United States Government. A partial settlement, however, was arrived at early in 1919, the United States agreeing to pay $11,000,000. This sum represented the actual value of property and contracts which were tied up when the United States requisitioned the Norwegian ships. Additional compensation was to be paid later, the full claims by the Norwegians being much greater.

On February 5, 1919, the Knudson Cabinet, after having held office six years, resigned. It had been the most radical Government which Norway had ever possessed and had gradually lost a great deal of its popular support, a fact which was proven by the results of the 1918 elections. On February 20, however, Prime Minister Knudson succeeded in forming another Cabinet. In the meantime a contest had arisen between Finland and Sweden for the possession of the Aland Islands. These, it will be remembered, had been occupied by Germany after the Russian collapse, and, therefore, their disposition was now in the hands of the Peace Conference. Their population, purely Swedish in origin, language, and aspirations, immediately after the separation of Finland from Russia, had sent an appeal to the King of Sweden for annexation. A proposal made by Sweden to Finland, to adjust the question by means of a plebiscite, was refused by Finland. In February, 1919, a deputation was sent to Paris to plead before the Peace Conference for reunion of the islands with Sweden, as follows:

"The Royal Government feels that it must insist upon the conference taking into consideration as soon as possible the question of the right of the population of the Aland Islands to decide by a plebiscite, carried out with the necessary guarantees, whether the archipelago is to belong to Sweden or to Finland.

"The Royal Government presumes that on account of the principles expressed at the Peace Conference Sweden will be allowed to take part in the discussion of this question. It is needless to add that the Royal Government greatly wishes that if the plebiscite gives the

islands to Sweden measures will be taken to prevent the construction of military buildings in the archipelago, and also to prevent attacks on the archipelago by another power."

On May 26, 1919, full national suffrage was granted by the Swedish Parliament to women who, since 1909, had already enjoyed municipal suffrage. The Independent Swedish Socialists, assembled in Congress on June 16, 1919, voted by a large majority to attend the Third International Congress of Socialists at Moscow and also voted resolutions strongly favoring Bolshevism. A similar attitude was taken by the Norwegian Labor Party, as the result of a special conference held on June 10, 1919, at Christiania.

The final adjustments in respect to the Scandinavian territorial interests created by the war and brought before the Peace Conference granted all that Denmark asked, while the question of the Aland Islands was left in abeyance.

According to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, within ten days after the treaty had been put in operation, people in the zones of Schleswig were to decide their Danish or German nationality by a popular vote. The country was divided into three zones, in the first of which, farthest removed from Germany, the people would vote for or against reunion with Denmark, *en bloc*. In the second zone, voting was to be by municipalities, not later than five weeks after a vote in the first zone. In the third zone, there would be no vote taken.

On September 25, 1919, the Spitzbergen Commission, which had begun the consideration of the future national status of the Spitzbergen Archipelago, but which had been interrupted in its work by the outbreak of war, handed in its report. It gave sovereignty over Spitzbergen to Norway. The report was approved by the Council of Five at Paris.

Also in 1919, an important event in the commercial history of Sweden was the opening of the new free harbor of Stockholm at Lindarangen.

On November 30, 1919, the election for the new Advisory Council of the North Schleswig Electors' Associations resulted in a victory for the minority group which was in opposition to the Government's policy.

In the plebiscites held in February and March, 1920, the Southern of the two zones voted to remain with Germany, while the Northern Zone returned a majority of three to one in favor of Denmark.

The latter district was incorporated into the Danish State on July 9, 1920, under the name, "South Jutland Provinces." Although the plebiscite held in the Alands in 1917 had resulted in a large majority for Sweden, the League of Nations, on June 24, 1921, awarded the islands to Finland. The question of the sovereignty of the east coast of Denmark occasioned controversy between Norway and Denmark in 1922 and 1923, as a result of which, in accordance with long-established precedent in inter-Scandinavian affairs, the question was referred to a joint committee of representatives from the countries concerned. Further territorial adjustment was made in 1925, when the islands of Spitzbergen, with their valuable coal deposits, were formally annexed to Norway.

The Scandinavian countries, like other neutral lands, suffered greatly from depression following the War. Unemployment—accompanied, in Norway and Sweden, by extensive strikes, was a paramount concern for governments. Sweden made rapid recovery, since her trade with Russia was restored by resumption of commercial relations with the Soviet Government in 1920, and her market for steel ore by the evacuation of the Ruhr in 1924. The Swedish crown, as a result of the wise development of resources and the strictest governmental economy, rose above parity in 1923. Denmark has been less fortunate since because of small area she is largely dependent on conditions in other countries and since her products are of perishable nature so that temporary cessation of trade causes great loss.

The Swedish Diet, early in 1925, passed the Socialist-Democrat bill providing for a large decrease in army personnel and equipment —the first definite disarmament legislation in Europe. Norway planned a similar decrease for 1927. As further insurance against war, Sweden in 1925 concluded arbitration treaties with Germany and Norway, and in 1926 with Denmark, Finland, Poland and Czechoslovakia. A treaty of arbitration between Denmark and Poland was signed after long negotiations in April, 1926. It stipulates that all disputes, without exception, between the two countries, shall be submitted to a permanent committee for mediation.

At Gothenburg, Sweden, in July, there was unveiled a statue of George Washington presented by the Gustavus III. Memorial Association to commemorate the formal recognition of American Independence by that monarch, the first in Europe to do so.

The Danish Foreign Minister, Count Moltke, and the Swedish

Foreign Minister, Baron Beck Friis, on July 20, 1926, exchanged ratification papers on the arbitration convention concluded between Denmark and Sweden in January, 1926.

A Swedish steel and iron trust was formed in July, 1926, with a total capital of $34,000,000.

Princess Astrid of Sweden and Crown Prince Leopold of Belgium were married in the royal palace at Stockholm on November 4, 1926.

In February, 1927, Sweden and Belgium concluded an arbitration treaty between the two countries, whereby they mutually pledged that under no conditions would they ever go to war to settle any dispute between them. The treaty resembles that made with Czechoslovakia and the treaty now in force between Sweden and Denmark and Finland. A similar treaty with Norway is also being ratified. Thus war is outlawed in a part of Northern Europe where formerly were almost constant hostilities.

In Norway, the prohibition law was amended on March 18, 1927, and resumption of the sale of liquor marked the end of prohibition in the country. The control of liquor is placed in the hands of the Government. It can be sold only between fixed hours and not to persons under 21 years of age. Other restrictions as to its use include the non-forwarding of liquor by mail.

In July, 1927, Mr. Holger Anderson, a member of the Danish Parliament, stated that the old contest between Denmark and Germany for political control in North Schleswig has given way to a struggle for economic control through financing of farmers. Both Germany and Denmark have formed societies for assembling funds for loans to farmers in their respective territories.

Disarmament, a project introduced in the Danish Folkething in March, 1926, was defeated by the Upper House in June, 1927, by a vote of 39 to 24. No further steps will be taken in the immediate future to revive the measure.

Norway in May, 1927, ended a long series of labor troubles followed by a lockout of three months. The Storthing finally passed a law making arbitration in labor disputes compulsory.

A new educational bill was passed in Sweden in June, 1927, which entirely remodeled the Swedish school system. Its main feature was the establishment of the popular primary six-year schools as the basis for all education, thus practically eliminating all private initiative. In Sweden it was announced in September, 1927, that

the Nobel Prizes for 1927 would amount to $162,389.10 and that each of the five prize winners would receive $32,478.82. In October, 1927, old age invalidity pensions amounting to 45,000,000 crowns were paid in Sweden to 345,000 persons.

Finland was elected a non-permanent member of the Council of the League of Nations at the meeting in October, 1927. On December 6, 1927, the Republic of Finland, youngest member of the group of northwest European nations, completed her first decade as a sovereign state. The financial development of Finland has been remarkable. After the unsettled war years and heavy expenses necessitated by the organization of the nation as an independent country, and by suppression of Bolshevism, the country was able to balance the budget by 1919 and by 1921 to show a surplus which has continued to grow in volume. Railroads and waterpower projects have been successfully carried out. The gold basis for currency was established in 1926.

In Denmark, much improvement in economic and industrial conditions was announced in November, 1927. Bank deposits notably increased over corresponding periods of the previous year. At the end of 1927, the country in general was most prosperous, although unemployment remained at about the same per cent as shown in the year 1926.

The Swedish Academy of Science awarded the annual Nobel Prizes in November, 1927. The Physics Prize for 1927 was divided between Professor Arthur Compton of Chicago and Professor Charles T. R. Wilson of Cambridge University, England. The 1926 Nobel Prize for Literature, not awarded in that year, was given to the Italian writer, Signora Grazia Deledda. The Prize for Medicine for 1926 was awarded to Johannes Fibiger of Copenhagen and that for 1927 to Dr. Julius Wagner von Jauregg of Vienna.

Official figures given out in November, 1927, show that the Swedish balance of trade was favorable, being $6,444,596, as compared with the unfavorable balance of $32,505,032 for 1926.

In October, 1927, Norwegian general elections resulted in considerable gains for the Labor Party. The gains were made chiefly at the expense of the Conservatives and the Liberals' left. The new Storthing contained 59 Labor members as compared with 34 in the previous Parliament, the total membership being 150.

Communication between New York and Stockholm by telephone was first established on a commercial basis on November 29, 1927.

POLAR RESEARCH

By George Thomas Surface, M. Sc.

Research Fellow in Geography, University of Pennsylvania, Professor of Geography in Emory and Henry College

Additions by Adam Ward

POLAR RESEARCH

Chapter I

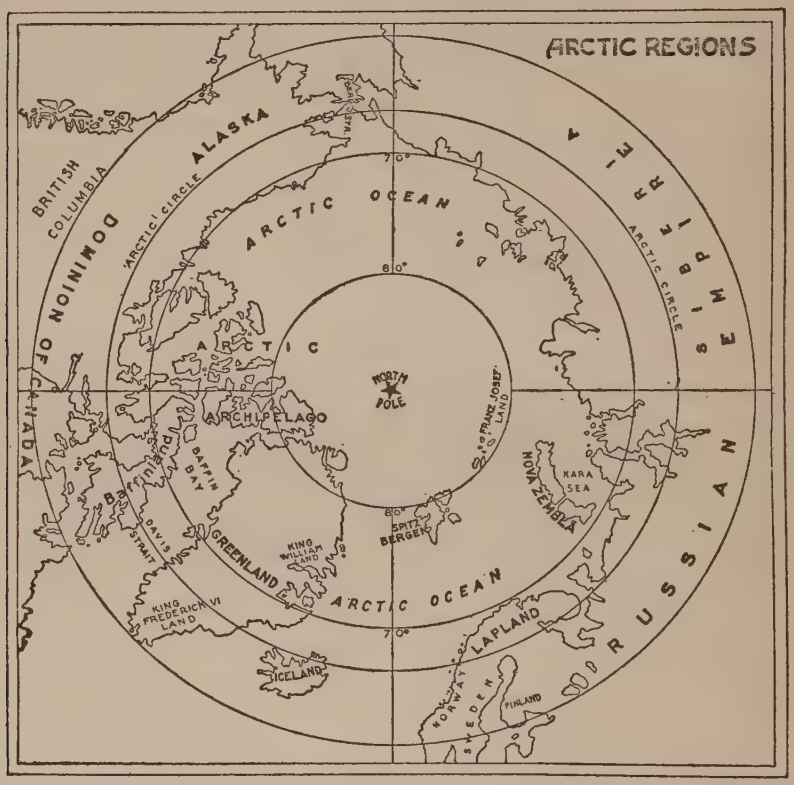
ARCTIC REGIONS

UNDER the comprehensive geographical term, Polar Regions, we must include those out-of-way ends of the earth —to adopt a loose phraseology in keeping with our incomplete knowledge of the subject at this time—the countries of ice and snow centered around the respective poles of the earth, and bounded by geographical imaginary lines, the Arctic and Antarctic Circles. But although imaginary, these circles are not arbitrary. By reason of the mathematical certainty with which the sun's beams trace their limit of twenty-three and a half degrees around each polar center, they serve admirably for designation in a region where neither political nor other civilized boundaries can be referred to with accuracy.

These regions of barrenness, of ice-covered lands and ice-bound seas, uninhabited for the most part, and largely devoid even of animal or vegetable life, have long been centers of scientific and commercial interest. As usual, commerce must wait for groping science to lead the way; but commerce directs the way to be opened, and the fact that all of the great maritime nations are grouped in the northern hemisphere destined the Arctic region for earlier research and exploration. The frozen waters of the Arctic merge so completely with the great highways of the maritime countries of Europe and America that their exploitation was sure to follow closely on the discovery of the latter. This established a new trading country on the western shore of the great ocean. The whale and the seal fisheries lured adventurous mariners farther and farther north, and thus inaugurated the great era of Arctic exploration.

For the proper following of the history of research in the north polar regions it is necessary to review mentally the physical

features of that region, so far as they are known to us. The Arctic Circle, which is described at latitude 66 degrees and 32 minutes north, or 1408 geographical miles from the polar center, forms a ring passing through the northernmost portions of America, Europe, and Asia, so that the shores of these continents form a fringe within the polar regions. The water spaces intervening are Davis and Bering Straits and the north Atlantic Ocean. This circle is



barely tangent to the northern coast points of Iceland, that little island which has been known to history since the eighth century, and which has played so important a part in the progress and development of Europe. The southern triangle of Greenland, the great Arctic island, is cut through by this Arctic Circle. For a long time our meager knowledge of Greenland was practically limited to the southern triangle, the interior being an unknown waste of snow and ice. Peary, in 1892, penetrated to the midpoint

of its northern coast, Independence Bay, latitude 81 degrees 37 minutes.

Westward the circle passes through the archipelago stretching across the northern breadth of the wedge-shaped continent of America, and cuts through the Yukon region of the great northern peninsula, Alaska. From Bering Strait it circles the more or less regular northern coast of Asia, skirts the southern end of the Gulf of Obi, cuts through the northern extremity of Russia, and finally caps the Scandinavian Peninsula, before reaching again the north Atlantic seas.

From 70 degrees north latitude the coast of Greenland follows a trend almost parallel with the somewhat regular coast line of Norway, leaving a passage some 600 to 700 miles wide from the north Atlantic Ocean to the Greenland Sea. The approximate conformity of coast line, in connection with the fact that the flora and fauna of the continental island are essentially European, would indicate that this enormous cleft is of comparatively recent origin. Davis Strait and Baffin Bay, on the other hand, are more ancient. Plants and animals of the east coast, so far as biologists have given them classification, are more nearly European than are those of the west; but even on the west, which so closely approaches the continent of North America, the absence of distinctly American species is marked. The approach to the Arctic seas by Davis Strait in the most narrow part is only 165 miles, and the width of Bering Strait is 45 miles. Thus the Arctic Circle may be said to traverse, in its 8640 mile course, only 900 miles of water. The Arctic is a landlocked region, and this fact has had an important influence on the physical conditions with which we have to deal, influencing the ocean currents and the movements of floating ice. Similarly the great archipelago which chokes the passage of the seas north of the American continent, and the various island groups north of Europe and Asia, all have determinant effects upon these same conditions.

The story of the Arctic regions in history should be traced from the Ultima Thule, which Pytheas of Massilia, the celebrated Greek navigator and geographer of the third century B. C., declared to exist some six days' voyage distant to the north of Britain; in a region where there was no longer any distinction between air and earth and sea, but a mixture of the three, which he naïvely compared to the gelatinous mollusc known as the *Pulneo marinus.*

In such a region he declared land travel or navigation of the "Sluggish Sea" was entirely impossible. The hardy Pytheas asserted that he himself had seen this triune substance, but relied upon others for the remainder of his information. The unknown land to the north of Britain was probably no other than the Shetland Islands, in latitude 60 degrees north, and thus some 450 miles south of the Arctic Circle. It is evident from a passage in Pliny,[1] and other classic writers, that Pytheas was greatly interested in the phenomena of night and day in the Arctic regions. Pliny states that he recorded the days at the summer solstice as twenty-four hours long, with nights of the same duration at the time of the winter solstice. Pytheas believed this Thule to be situated under the Arctic Circle, and his descriptions from hearsay would apply quite accurately to Arctic conditions. At the same time, his knowledge of astronomy was so considerable that he might easily have stated what he believed to be mathematically correct, supposing the voyager to travel toward this most northerly portion of Europe, or, indeed, of the known world. But Pytheas is careful not to claim that his statements are based upon personal knowledge. In 84 A. D., when the Romans succeeded in rounding the northern point of Britain, and visited the Orkney Islands, they "caught sight also of Thule" (*"Dispecta est et Thule,"* says Tacitus), though this could only apply to the Shetland Islands. On the other hand, Pytheas, in describing land distant six days' voyage from Britain, really indicated a far more northern latitude, as evidenced by his exaggerated idea of the whole extent of that island, which he affirmed was more than 40,000 stadia (4000 geographical miles) in circumference. But even if the Shetland Islands was the Thule of Pytheas, they are not the Ultima Thule of our day, which is practically as much a mystery to us as was Pytheas's "uttermost end of the earth" to the ancient world.

Thule is also the name used by a chronicler named Dicuil, an Irish monk, writing in the early part of the ninth century. But in the case of Dicuil the evidence is clear that the island of Iceland is really referred to, for this longer and more remote island was certainly visited by those "sequestered persons," the Irish Culdees, long before it was discovered by the Northmen. Dicuil's information is related as coming from other monks who had dwelt in Thule for several months at a time, and reported there was no darkness at the summer solstice.

[1] Pliny, "*Historia Naturalis*," iv. 16, 104

Alfred of England, in his translation of Orosius, alludes to the voyages of Other and Wulfstan, from the narratives as given by Other himself; and from the evidence it seems probable that this explorer rounded the North Cape and reached the coast of Lapland as early as the ninth century. As to Iceland, following the settlement in the island of the little colony of Irish Culdees, long before its discovery by the Scandinavians in 850 A. D., there came across the seas from Norway and the Western Isles colonists, who, in the latter half of the ninth century, quickly spread their holdings over the best lands in the island. It appears that by 1100 it had about 50,000 inhabitants of Teuton stock, with some admixture of Celtic blood. In their isolated situation at the chill extremity of the known world, surrounded by the most extreme disadvantages of climate and situation, these settlements maintained their existence independently for a thousand years. Of untold value to the historian are the ancient chronicles preserved as historical fossils in Icelandic literature, and the Icelandic language itself, allowing for natural changes, is claimed by philologists to represent in a living form the speech of our earliest Teutonic ancestors. The chiefs, who, resisting the centralization of the head-kings, had led their kinsmen and dependents across the North Sea and established new homesteads there, naturally retained their positions as leaders, acted as priests at feasts and sacrifices, and presided over the moot or Thing. When disputes between neighboring homesteads arose, as they were sure to do, the Constitution of Ulfliot was devised, this being about 930 A. D. It provided for a central moot for the whole island. The law for this central moot or Al-thing was modeled on that of the Gula-moot in Norway. In 964 certain reforms in the organization of the island were devised by Thord Gellir, but after the early part of the eleventh century little constitutional change was made for two centuries, during which period the great houses monopolized the chieftains and used their power for subservient ends. But, in 1271, the old common law was discarded and the new Norse Code took its place.

Icelandic sagas provide data for vivid pictures of the old life. The island was pastoral, the people depending on their herds for clothing and food. Hay, self-sown, was the only crop, and this, with shepherding, fishing, and fowling, afforded occupation for the summer months. Spring was marked by feasts and moots; the Al-thing was in summer; marriage and funeral gatherings

marked the fall, and the yule feast broke the dreary monotony of the long Icelandic winter. Chieftain and thrall had much in common, sharing the comforts and inconveniences of a life rude at its best. In the days of paganism it seems that the great chief governed *in absentia,* remaining at the court of the Norway king; but Christianity, which was introduced about 1000, brought changes, and visits to the continent grew less and less frequent.

In the same way, the first to make permanent settlement on the shores of Greenland were the hardy Norsemen, and it is certain that in their coasting voyages along the glacier-covered island they penetrated beyond the Arctic Circle. In the summer months, when the Norse settlers at Brattleid and Einarsfjord carried on their seal hunting, they must have gone far within the Arctic Circle. In latitude 73 degrees north a runic stone (a model of the stolen original being still preserved at Copenhagen) has been found in a cairn, and internal evidence places its inscription at about 1235. Still another early expedition is generally accepted by scholars to have been made about 1266, reaching 75 degrees and 46 minutes north, in Barrow Strait. It is evident that the ordinary hunting grounds of these Norsemen of the Sea were in latitude 73 degrees, to the north of the modern Danish town of Upernavik. In the following century the black death broke out in Europe and the far-off settlements in Greenland seem to have been lost sight of. No trace of communication with Norway is found after 1347, and it is supposed that the colonists perished two years later in an attack by Skrellings or Eskimos, who came down upon them out of the white north.

As a natural consequence to the discovery of the New World in 1492, came increasing knowledge of the great ocean which separated it from the old. Moreover, the impenetrable continent blocking the navigator's path to the west, led commercial interests to seek still another route to the coveted Indies. Sebastian Cabot was directly concerned in an expedition fitted out in May, 1553, under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, " for the search and discovery of the northern parts of the world, to open a way and passage to our men, for travel to new and unknown kingdoms." But this expedition was as ill-fated as any concerning which we have information. Willoughby reached Nova Zembla, or rather sighted the coast of Gooseland; but attempting to winter in a harbor of Lapland, he and his sixty-two men, representing the

company of two of the three ships forming the expedition, succumbed to scurvy—that disease which for centuries was destined to destroy the white man essaying existence in the polar regions; Chancellor reached Archangel, and on the invitation of Czar Ivan; to whom couriers had carried the news of his arrival, journeyed to Moscow, where he succeeded in making arrangements for future commercial intercourse with Russia; or, as it was then more commonly called, Muscovy. On his safe return a charter was granted to the "Association of Merchant Adventurers," of which Cabot was the head. Stephens Burrough, in 1556, and Arthur Pet, in 1580, each under the Muscovy Company, succeeded in reaching and exploring the Waigat, the name then given to the strait leading into the Kara Sea. Jackman, the companion of Pet, wintered in a Norwegian port, from which he sailed in the spring, but was never heard of again. These were the first vessels from western Europe to succeed in navigating the ice of the Kara Sea.

All these were efforts to open up a passage in the northeast. Meanwhile, in the spring of 1576, Frobisher, aided by Michael Lot, a merchant, sailed with two small vessels, the *Gabriel* and *Michael,* neither of which was over 25 tons, intent on seeking a passage to the northwest. The *Michael* deserted in midocean, and the *Gabriel* continued alone. Land was sighted in July, which by reason of its height Frobisher christened Queen Elizabeth's Forehead. On the next day, July 21, he entered the strait called by his name. Frobisher's specimens of mica-schist produced great excitement on his return. They were thought to show traces of gold and expeditions were quickly fitted out to seek this ore. These expeditions were failures in the achievement of their purpose, but to Frobisher must be credited two new items of geographical knowledge: namely, that there existed at least two wide openings on the American coast leading westward, in latitudes 60 degrees and 63 degrees north. It is interesting to note what Sir Martin Frobisher wrote as to this search for the northwest passage: "It is the only thing in the world that is left yet undone whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate." So much for the sixteenth-century point of view.

In 1585, John Davis, an expert seaman and a man of scientific mind, set out in quest of this northwest passage. He made three voyages, aided by "adventurous merchants." It is clear now that Frobisher never saw Greenland, so that Davis was the first

to visit the west coast after the old Norse colonies there had been abandoned. As to how he regarded it may be judged from the name he gave it—"The Land of Desolation," and he quaintly describes the "loathsome view of the shore and irksome noyse of the yce," which "bred strange conceite amongst us." Davis penetrated Gilbert's Sound, where the Danish mission of Godthaab was afterward established, and crossed the strait now known by his name. In this third voyage he passed up this strait to latitude 72 degrees and 41 minutes north, where he gave the name Sanderson's Hope to a precipitous island of granite which projected out of the open waters. Davis returned convinced that passage could be made through a "great sea, free, large, very salt and blue," which he described as opening out to the north. In 1595 he published "The World's Hydrographical Description," but his reports were at variance with Frobisher's, and caused the confused narrative and map which the Venetian Zeni had published in 1558 to be more puzzling to cartographers than before.

The commercial value of a northern route to China and India early impressed the merchants of Holland—the more, undoubtedly, since the Spanish and Portuguese sought to monopolize the water route by way of the African continent. In a quarter of a century after Chancellor's opening up of Archangel Bay, the Dutch had established trade relations there, and with Kola. In 1594 certain Amsterdam merchants, inspired by Peter Plancius, a learned geographer, sent out a vessel of 100 tons under Willem Barents. The name of Barents is distinguished in the history of the search for a northern water route to the Orient, for his expedition was, perhaps, the most successful of the early voyages. Carlsen, in 1871, after a period of 274 years, found relics of this expedition. Barents left Holland in June, 1594, to find a northeast route to China, and returned after tracing the coast of Nova Zembla northeastward to the Orange Islands, latitude 77 degrees north. A second expedition made an unsuccessful attempt to enter the Kara Sea. In May, 1596, the third and most important expedition was sent out by the city of Amsterdam, consisting of two ships with Jacob Hoemskerck and Corneliszoon Riji in command. The vessels separated at Spitzbergen, and Barents, who accompanied Hoemskerck as pilot, directed the course of his vessel around Nova Zembla. But at Icehaven the ship was frozen in, and helpless months of suffering followed. Many of the crew died from the

intensity of the cold. At last, in June, 1597, the survivors set out in separate boats for the mainland. Barents was among those who succumbed, but the survivors reached Lapland in safety, and found the other vessel. This was the first time an expedition had endured a winter in Arctic seas. Barents lost his life, but his last expedition was one of the most important of all that had been made to the unknown Arctic frontier, since it ascertained the terrific pressure of the ice pack upon the north coast of Nova Zembla, and proved the existence of open water. From Barents's voyages can be directly traced the Dutch whale fisheries, destined to have such important effect in stimulating Arctic exploration.

After Chancellor's voyage and successful negotiations with Russia there had arisen, as we have seen, the famous Muscovy Company. It was this company, together with associations of London merchants inclined to science or enterprise, which continued their efforts to find the coveted northern passage. The East India Company also sent out an expedition under Captain Waymouth in 1602, but his attempt to realize the sanguine hopes of Davis proved a failure.

It is in the service of the Muscovy Company that we find the beginning of that brief record of the four years known of the life of Henry Hudson. In May, 1607, Hudson was sent out in the Muscovy Company's ship *Hopeful,* in quest of a northeast passage to the Spice Isles. Hudson, on his first recorded voyage, discovered the most northern known point of the east coast of Greenland, in latitude 73 degrees, and named it " Hold with Hope." He examined the long edges of accumulated icefloe stretching from Greenland to Spitzbergen, and reached a latitude of 80 degrees and 23 minutes. He then turned back and reached England after an absence of four and a half months. Hudson's second expedition for the Muscovy Company was in 1608, when he examined the ice-front between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, and tried to pierce his way through the Waigat, or Kara Strait, being convinced that this would bring him within easy access of the Pacific Ocean. In March of the following year the intrepid Englishman again set out with two ships, the *Good Hope* and *Half Moon,* this time in the employ of the Dutch East India Company. But although he again reached Nova Zembla, his crew mutinied in terror, and the Waigat passage was not attempted. The *Good Hope* returned to Amsterdam, while the *Half Moon* pushed on

across the Atlantic. But Hudson's important discoveries in the lower latitudes have no Arctic interest, except that they exploded the theory that a great strait would be found leading through the American continent somewhere about latitude 40 degrees. In April of 1610 Henry Hudson again set sail, his expedition being under the auspicies of an association of Englishmen who still held faith in the feasibility of a northwest passage. By June 10, 1610, Hudson had reached the strait which now bears his name. Three months were spent exploring the great inland sea of 400,000 square miles, which we know as Hudson Bay. The vessel was frozen hard and fast in the ice early in November, and the months that followed were fraught with great suffering, since provisions lessened daily and mutinous warnings increased with each added hardship. Month by month slowly and drearily passed until late in June, 1611, when a portion of the ship's crew mutinied openly, seized Hudson, his son, and seven disabled companions, put them off in the ship's small boat and set them adrift, to what new agonies of body and mind can only be conjectured, since no one of the marooned party was ever heard of again. Early accounts of the voyages of Henry Hudson may be read to this day, both in English and in Dutch, and it is to the annals of the Dutch and English whaling trade that we must look for practically all of the information respecting the country of the polar seas which the next one hundred and fifty years were able to give. The hoped-for route to the Spice Isles remained a mystery, but the commercial instinct of both the English and the Dutch was not slow to fasten upon a new and profitable industry, such as Arctic whaling speedily grew into.

The voyages of Hudson may be said to have led immediately to the Spitzbergen whale fisheries. The four voyages of Poole, from 1607 to 1612, and those of Fotherby, Baffin, Joseph, and Edge, were all in furtherance of this profitable business, though resulting in important geographical knowledge. To the west, information was increased by the sudden anxiety of the Danish kings for the abandoned colony in Greenland. In 1605, under Christian IV., an expedition of three ships visited Greenland's western coast and other expeditions followed the next year, resultful of much interesting information, but resultless in discovering the lost colony.

English expeditions under Sir Thomas Button (1612, 1613), and Captain Gibbons (1614), betrayed the persistence of the merchant associations of London. In 1615, Robert Bylot and William

Baffin made many valuable observations in the northwest Arctic. In 1616, they sailed beyond Sanderson's Hope and around the channels of Baffin Bay, naming points, sounds, and islands after various munificent promoters and friends of the expedition. But the discovery of the great channel or bay which bears his own name was the most important result of Baffin's voyage. Baffin was a skillful navigator, and as a scientific man was the equal of Davis. His magnetic observations are of value to this day, and he was one of the earliest navigators to make use of astronomy in fixing longitude at sea.

Hudson Bay was also the field of explorations for a London expedition sent out under Luke Fox in 1631, and one from Bristol, under Captain James, sailed the same year. In 1670, an association under the name of the Hudson Bay Company was incorporated, and developed a lucrative fur trade in that region. Indeed, from now on through the next century, the enthusiasm for adventure and discovery gave way to commercial enterprise, which stepped in to reap the profits, but incidentally planted permanent settlements in these inhospitable regions of the north. Fleets of whaling ships, both English and Dutch, now annually sought the Spitzbergen seas, primarily for profit, but to Frederick Martens (1671), and the Van Keulens, father and son (1700-1728), we are indebted for real contributions to geographic science. The Dutch whale fisheries flourished until late in the century, forming "a splendid training school for the seamen of the Netherlands."

The English, the great rivals of the Dutch, carried their period of prosperity in this industry well into the nineteenth century, and English whaling captains accomplished much as scientific observers, as the work of Captain Scoresby, who made seventeen voyages to Spitzbergen, still testifies. Some account must be taken of Russian energy, also. As early as 1648 Russian explorers had outlined great extents of coastline, among them being Elisé Bush and the Cossack, Simon Deshnev, who passed through the strait afterward named for Bering. Tcholyuskin, in 1735, got as far as 77 degrees 25 minutes north, and eight years later, with sledges, reached the most northern point of Siberia, at latitude 77 degrees and 41 minutes. A Dane, Captain Vitus Bering, was sent out by Peter the Great in 1725, and in 1728 discovered from the Asiatic side the strait now named for him. On a later expedition Bering discovered the peak, Mount St. Elias, which he named. But

shipwreck and the inevitable scourge of scurvy put an end to this expedition, Bering himself dying in December, 1741. Liakhov, in 1770, visited the Siberian Ocean and explored its archipelago. Liakhov was a merchant, and his venture resulted in a grant from the Empress Catherine to dig for fossil ivory. Other ivory hunters followed, in the early part of the nineteenth century, Samkiv, Sirovotskov, and Bjelkov, being most notable among them. But from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, polar exploration came to be recognized more and more as a scientific project. The English government commissioned Phipps's expedition in 1773, which reached latitude 80 degrees and 48 minutes, north of the central portion of the Spitzbergen archipelago. Here they found further progress barred, the edge of the ice-pack measuring 24 feet in thickness. Captain Cook was commissioned, in 1776, to search for a northwest or a northeast passage, and two years later he reached Cape Prince of Wales, the western extremity of America.

England and Europe, being in revolution, found little time for polar explorations, but in 1818, by the influence of Sir John Barrow, traveler, scientist, and statesman, then secretary of the Admiralty Board, the old Parliamentary acts of 1743 and 1776, which had offered a reward of £20,000 ($100,000) for the achievement of the northwest passage, and of £5000 ($25,000) for the approach of 89 degrees, were modified into proportional awards for 83 degrees, 85, 87, and 88 degrees, reserving to 89 degrees the full allotment of the previous reward. This enactment proved a great encouragement, offering, as it did, more promising expectation of reward for practical endeavor. The favorable observation of Captain Scoresby in 1817 had had its influence, and in April, 1818, two vessels under Captain David Buchan and Lieutenant John Franklin were sent out to pursue the Spitzbergen route, only to be turned back disabled.

Another expedition which Barrow had planned by Baffin's old route of 1616 had more success, however. Lieutenant Edward Parry of this expedition was commissioned the following year to make another attempt. Beyond Melville Peninsula (or Island) he was checked by the ice-pack. Parry exercised extreme care and brought his company safely through the dangers of an Arctic winter. His vessels returned to England in the fall of 1830, and late in the spring of the next year he set out on his second voyage. This party wintered on the coast of the newly discovered Melville

Peninsula, 66 degrees and 11 minutes north, but the next year was spent in latitude 69 degrees and 20 minutes, at Igloolik, among the Eskimos, from whom the explorers were able to gather much interesting and some valuable information. Parry discovered the channel leading from the head of Hudson Bay and named it Fury and Hecla Strait, after the two twin-fitted vessels *Fury* and *Hecla*.

Meanwhile the non-success of the Spitzbergen expedition had not diminished the confidence of scientific men in the fitness of Franklin for the prosecution of polar research, which now had become a subject of national interest. In 1819, for coöperation with Parry in Lancaster Sound, he was put in command of an expedition to Rupert's Land and the northern shores of America. None of this great region had been touched except at two points by Hearne, an agent of the Hudson Bay Company, and by Mackenzie, a member of the Northwest Fur Company, stationed at Chip Euyn. The expedition landed at York Factory, and proceeded to the Great Slave Lake. It was cared for during the first winter on the Saskatchewan by the Hudson Bay Company; but the second was spent in "barren ground," dependent on such game and fish as could be secured. The following summer the party discovered Coppermine River and surveyed some 550 miles of seacoast. At a point which their leader called "Turnagain" they started on their return. The suffering of Franklin and his party was intense, but the survivors succeeded in reaching York Factory, having made a circuit of 5550 miles.

In 1825, acting in concert with Beechy in Bering Strait and Parry again in Lancaster Sound, Franklin established his base at Fort Franklin, on Great Bear Lake. Franklin explored the Mackenzie River, reaching its mouth in 1826, and coasted westward; while his companion, Richardson, examined the shore to the east. They returned in 1826, Franklin having reached Return Reef, 70 degrees and 26 minutes north, and Richardson having followed the coast of the American continent through 20 degrees of longitude and 2 degrees of latitude, and made many geographical, geological, and botanical observations on the way.

The experiences of Captain Franklin in Polar America led directly to Parry's undertaking an expedition in 1827 to find the North Pole by sledge, traveling over the ice by way of Spitzbergen. This was the first attempt to reach the pole with runner-mounted boats and sledges, instead of navigation. Parry left Spitzbergen

in June, and traveled to a little beyond latitude 81 degrees, but the crevassed ice, treacherous snow-pits, and his own heavy and cumbersome equipment retarded the advance of the expedition over the pack sea. The thawing of the ice masses, the yielding crust, and strong southerly current combined against their progress, so that after four days they found themselves only one mile further north, though a distance of fully twenty-three miles had been covered. Parry's journal records his discouragement, but years afterward, in writing to Sir John Barrow, he reviewed the conditions and expressed confidence that a similar pedestrian expedition, starting from Spitzbergen as early as April, would find it possible to make even thirty miles a day over the solid ice. Parry's plan for such a polar search has never been followed as yet, though a number of reasons would indicate the open Spitzbergen route to be more promising than west Greenland or the North American island fringe. That the latter route is far more impracticable of penetration by vessels, the experience of Kane (1853), Hayes (1860), Hall (1871), and Nares (1875) would go to show, while Parry's narrative of his Spitzbergen experience records that in the middle of August a ship might have sailed to latitude 82 degrees practically without touching ice. The geographer, Dr. Petermann, believed in the probability of this open polar sea, and enthusiastically advocated the Spitzbergen route for vessel-expeditions of polar research. Certainly, the prospects for success, with strongly built steamers instead of sailing vessels, and otherwise modern equipment, is much accentuated.

From this time on to 1836 it would seem that the Admiralty were, for the time, discouraged at the unsuccessful efforts to make the northwest passage. But in 1829 another expedition as a private enterprise, set out for polar America with a "paddle-steamer," under Captain John Ross and James Ross, his nephew. This was the first, and as it then proved, an unsuccessful, attempt to adopt steam power for Arctic explorations. Ross was absent five years searching the American Arctic seas. It is now known that he practically accomplished the northwest passage without realizing it, reaching the northernmost point of the American continent.

The protracted absence of the Ross party told upon public feeling. The British government, in 1832, contributed toward an expedition, which had been inaugurated by Ross's friends, and sent Back (who had been associated with Franklin in 1821) on a

mission of relief. In the spring of 1834 Back learned of the Ross party's safe return, but his expedition was by that time so fully under way that it was continued as one of geographic and scientific research. He failed to reach Point Turnagain, so wintered at Reliance, and returned in safety to England.

The British government was again aroused to activity in 1836, when the Royal Geographical Society petitioned an expedition to survey the coast between Regent Inlet and Point Turnagain, which Franklin had named in 1821. Back was selected to lead this expedition. The condition of Hudson Bay at that season he found bad beyond description, but resisted all bravely until his vessel was disabled, and was then forced to return to England. More successful was an exploring party under the direction of Dease and Thomas Simpson, which the Hudson Bay Company sent out in 1837-1839, in pursuance of a plan of its energetic chief official, Sir George Simpson. In midsummer of 1837 these two men succeeded in examining the strip of coast from Return Reef to Cape Barrow, which Franklin and Elson in 1825 had left unexamined. The next summer they traced 140 miles of coast beyond Cape Turnagain, and in 1839 Simpson explored the whole east coast beyond, as well as 60 miles of the southern coast of King William Land, and the shores of Victoria Land. Simpson reached Fort Confidence after covering more than 1600 miles of sea—one of the longest and in every way most successful voyages ever accomplished in polar waters. The death of Simpson—he was slain by one of his own men in the Canadian wilds—delayed another expedition of exploration which the Hudson Bay Company had determined but which was subsequently carried out with extraordinary success by Dr. John Rae in 1845. Rae's trip, made under many disadvantages of equipment and hampered by voluminous instructions from the commercial company, was one of the most memorable land expeditions in history; and practically completed the geographical exploration of the coast of North America.

Thus, exploration of the North American continental coast and archipelago, and the search for the northwest passage, for a time centered all interest in the Arctic regions. In May of the same year in which Rae's extraordinary expedition was undertaken, Sir John Franklin, then sixty years of age, sailed from England with Captain Crozier (who had already served with Parry and Ross) for the purpose of making the northwest passage. Franklin's

vessels were the *Erebus* and the *Terror,* just then released by the return of Sir James Ross from the south polar seas. This ill-fated expedition numbered 129 men. Up to July 12 dispatches reported their progress. On that date they had reached the Whale Fish Islands in Baffin Bay; a whaling captain spoke with them on July 26 while they were moored to an iceberg awaiting an opening to sail on to Lancaster Sound. After this almost three years of silence followed, marked by growing agitation in England regarding the fate of the party. But not until 1848 were search expeditions fitted out by the British government. Ross, Richardson, and Rae all gave their coöperation, but the search of 1848-1849 was without the least success. In 1851 Dr. Rae renewed operation under the Hudson Bay Company. He left Fort Confidence in April, and with two men traveled on foot to the Polar Sea at the Coppermine. On this expedition Rae reached Wollaston Land, never before visited by a white man. Rae joined his boat party at Kendall River, passed Deane Strait, and commenced examination of the east coast of Victoria Land, reaching Cape Princess Royal on August 6. Leaving the boat, he traveled thence on foot, arriving at his farthest north, on August 12, at 70 degrees and 3 minutes, longitude 101 degrees and 25 minutes west, within 50 miles of the spot where the vessels of Franklin had been abandoned three years and four months before. Thus Rae, following Franklin, made the nearest approach to the sea-passage of the northwest. But Rae was unable to cross Victoria Strait, and so missed recovering the Franklin records on King William Land. On his return he found at Parker Bay the fragment of a flagstaff, identified as belonging to the Franklin squadron.

It was destined that the indefatigable Rae should find the first direct evidence of the Franklin expedition's fate, though not until 1854. At Boothia some Eskimos recounted how, in what would have been the spring of 1850, about forty white men were seen dragging a boat southward on the west shore of King William Land. Later that spring some thirty-five bodies of men were found by the Eskimos. The identification was certain when silver was produced bearing the Franklin crest, and afterward many other relics were found. In 1855, Anderson, while acting for the Hudson Bay Company, came upon various articles recognizable as belonging to the expedition, which, the Eskimos said, had been taken from the white men's boat. Anderson's report confirmed Dr. Rae's

determination of the fate of the Franklin expedition, and the British Admiralty, after rewarding Dr. Rae and his companions, relaxed from further investigation.

The sea search thus far had been even less resultful than the search by land. The first Pacific squadron, the *Plover* and the *Herald,* had been sent out in 1848 to meet Franklin with supplies at Bering Strait. The *Enterprise,* under Collinson, and the *Investigator,* under McClure, were sent also to Bering Strait in 1850. More persistent were the efforts made by way of the Atlantic. Ross's expedition we have already recounted. In 1851 the British Admiralty had sent out two expeditions, and private means launched a third. American interest and sympathy equipped a fourth. A fifth was furnished by Lady Franklin. Other expeditions followed in 1852-1853—resulting in many interesting and important additions to geographical knowledge, though unsuccessful in their search for the Franklin party.

The fate of the expedition had indeed been settled long since, but settlement of the detail facts, and especially the one fact of the death of Sir John Franklin, remained a hope which his wife could not relinquish. Without government help, but with some friendly assistance, she exhausted her limited means in fitting out a small screw steamer, the *Fox,* which McClintock and Hobson volunteered to command. It was this determined expedition which finally brought back to the world the record of Franklin's practical accomplishment of the northwest passage, with the few details of his own and his gallant companions' fate. Franklin died on June 11, 1847, on board the *Erebus,* both boats having been ice-bound since September 12, 1846, and the ships were deserted in April of the following year. Officers and crew, numbering 105 men, started overland for Back's Fish River, only to perish by the way. The record found in a cairn at Point Victory, coins and some other relics, are all that are left of the expedition, save for the world-wide significance of its results and the pathos of the tragic end.

The geographical results of the search for Franklin were very rich. The ice-shrouded Arctic archipelago was explored, and 4000 to 5000 square miles of the earth's area was mapped out with approximate accuracy, together with about 7000 miles of coast. More and more public attention was attracted by the Franklin search; and with each new observation the Arctic seas advanced in scientific interest.

The Grinnell expeditions, the first under American direction, had their origin in the Franklin search. Henry Grinnell, a New York merchant, in 1850 equipped two vessels, the *Advance* and *Rescue*. The expedition was under the command of De Haven Griffith, and included Dr. Kane. The party reached Beechey Island on August 27, and examined the Franklin winter quarters, but returned the same year with practically nothing accomplished, except the discovery of Grinnell Land. In 1853, Grinnell, in conjunction with George Peabody, sent out another party in the *Advance,* Dr. Kane in charge. The chief object of this expedition was the thorough exploration of Smith Sound, the northern outlet of Baffin Bay. The *Advance* was stopped by ice in latitude 78 degrees 45 minutes north, thus practically reaching the entrance. Here was registered in the winter of 1854, the lowest temperature ever recorded by man, 100 degrees below zero. Kane's observations of the coast brought to knowledge many astonishing facts. He estimated the coast cliffs at from 800 feet to 1200 feet elevation, with an ice-foot eighteen feet thick resting on the beach. The party wintered at Van Rensselaer Harbor, and the following spring accomplished some interesting and valuable work. Kane discovered the Humboldt glacier, projecting from the seacoast, and explored its face, which is one hundred miles in breadth. Scurvy and lack of supplies put an end to these investigations. The party were forced to abandon the *Advance* in May, 1855. With difficulty they made their way to the Danish settlement of Upernavik, where they took refuge, and were rescued by Lieutenant Hartstine, who had been sent out in relief. Kane chronicled the experiences of both this and the previous Grinnell expedition, and produced a narrative of such dramatic interest as to stimulate public enthusiasm for further polar research. Dr. Hayes, one of Kane's party, was also convinced of the existence of an open polar sea. Hayes solicited subscriptions for a new expedition, and returned to the Arctic in 1860. He reached a latitude of 81 degrees and 35 minutes, by way of Smith Sound, but did not find the navigable sea.

One of the most interesting of the early American explorers was Charles Hall, a Cincinnati newspaper man. Hall's life reads like a romance. Starting in the world with only a common school education, he tried various occupations, from blacksmithing to engraving. As a journalist, he followed the progress of the Franklin search, and soon was fired with an ambition to go himself to the

polar regions. A popular subscription furnished him with a modest equipment, and in 1860 he set out, having secured passage on a whaling vessel. Hall tried the plan of domesticating himself with the Eskimos, and in the course of his life with them traveled over a considerable section of Arctic country. This first expedition (1860-1862) resulted in no new traces of the Franklin party, but historically, an even more important relic was found on the Countess of Warwick Island, the remains of a stone house which Frobisher had built in 1578. Hall's second expedition (1864-1869), which included a regular scientific exploring party, wasted much time looking for Eskimo aid, but by indomitable persistence at length reached the Franklin line of retreat at Todd Island, south of King William Land. Here a human thigh bone was picked up. Later a skeleton was found on the mainland. Hall diligently collected scraps of Eskimo evidence respecting the country, and the passage of Franklin's men, most of it seemingly reliable, and a great deal of it confirmatory of previously accumulated data. He also succeeded in getting together a quantity of Franklin relics. The human skeleton found on the mainland is believed to be that of Lieutenant Le Viscomte of the ship *Erebus*. Hall's evidence accounts directly for the end of seventy-nine of the retreating number, leaving twenty-six to reach the coast of the mainland, only to perish there at last, if, indeed, they ever got beyond Montreal Island. Incidental to the sentimental and historical purpose of Hall's expedition, some important geographical work was accomplished, and the gap in the continental outline between Parry's farthest point and that reached by Dr. Rae was filled in. The third expedition sailed in the United States ship *Polaris* in 1872. It reached latitude 82 degrees 16 minutes north. Hall met his death on this expedition, and a year later his companions, while attempting to return, were rescued from a floating raft of ice after a harrowing experience of 186 days.

The expedition in 1875 under Sir George Nares, one of the most famous of British explorers, took this same course. A pedestrian party under Markham reached 83 degrees 20 minutes to the north of Grinnell Land, northwest Greenland. They found no Eskimos beyond the parallel 81 degrees, and reported the greatest cold experienced as 72 degrees below zero.

Westward of the great Arctic group, the ice which stretches for a vast unknown space northward has never been traversed by

any vessel. Navigators have only attempted to follow along its edge, measuring its enormous thickness and massive floes. Nowhere does it come into contact with the warming waters of the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean, and only narrow, often tortuous, channels connect it with other Arctic seas, and the narrow and shallow strait of Bering prevents egress of blocks of ice in that direction. This ice accumulation is what Sir George Nares calls descriptively the " Palæocrystic Sea." Floating down from the north through McClintock Channel (McClure Strait), the loosened blocks of ice are sure to strike upon the northwest coast of King William Land, forming a palæocrystic stream from Melville Island, and absolutely blocking any farther advance by ship. It was this formation that defeated Franklin's quest. Had Franklin, indeed, suspected that King William Land was an island, and turned to the north, he might have reached the western coast by that route and gained the channel which follows the northwestern continental shore. At least this supposition is reasonable, though what new problem might have confronted him there, considering the variability of Arctic conditions, can only be surmised.

Still another Franklin search party was sent out in 1879, and again the expedition was one from the United States. Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka and three companions comprised the exploring corps. Their object was to examine closely the west coast of King William Land during the summer, while the coast would be most open. Provided with Eskimos and dogs, but with only one month's provisions, they left winter quarters at Chesterfield Inlet, Hudson Bay, in April. This light equipment gave them great advantage, and in that season they found reindeer and other game quite plentiful. Schwatka and his companions crossed over to King William Land in June, having replenished their stores at Montreal Island. The west shore of the island was examined in detail for traces of the Franklin party, even to its northern extremity, but little was discovered. A medal which had belonged to Lieutenant Irving of the *Terror* was picked up and some bones believed to be his were brought back and interred at Edinburgh. Schwatka's party experienced the intense cold of 70 degrees below zero, within two degrees of the extreme frigidity reported by Nares for northern Greenland.

Meanwhile the European Arctic had been receiving pronounced attention. The Spitzbergen fisheries had long yielded very accurate

knowledge of those far north but readily accessible lands of the polar world. Indeed, it is interesting and surprising to note the relative accomplishments of whaling vessels and official expeditions during the earlier years of polar research. Buchan's and Franklin's farthest north were 80 degrees 34 minutes, assuming that Buchan did not reach a higher latitude during that last mysterous voyage from which he never returned. This record of 80 degrees 34 minutes was reached in July in " open sea " near Spitzbergen. But already in the colder season of May that unrivaled sea captain, Scoresby, had reached 81 degrees 30 minutes on longitude 19 degrees east of Greenwich, on the border of the great northern pack. What the earlier Norwegian fishing captains accomplished we do not know, for only recently have their voyages been scientifically noted by Professor Mohn. Captain Carlsen circumnavigated the Spitzbergen group in 1863, and Tobiesen sailed round Northeast Land the following year. Altman and Nils Johnsen visited Wiche Land (discovered by Captain Edge in 1617) in 1872. More extended voyages, reaching Nova Zembla, have been made more or less regularly since 1869, and Carlsen in that year crossed the Kara Sea and passed down the Siberian coast to the mouth of the River Obi. Nova Zembla itself was circumnavigated in 1870. As many as sixty Norwegian vessels found their way to Barents Sea in 1870, and Carlsen, in 1871, reached the old Barents winter quarters. He found the structure still standing after almost three hundred years, and collected some extremely interesting and well-preserved relics.

As a field for scientific observation, Spitzbergen was selected by seven Swedish expeditions in the comparatively short period from 1856 to 1872. All of these contributed to the net results. In 1864 Nils Nordenskiold, whose name is still prominent among modern scientific explorers, made a careful examination of the Spitzbergen archipelago. One of the most remarkable exploits in the history of exploration was his inland journey through Greenland. Accompanied by Dr. Berggren and two Greenland companions, Nordenskiold succeeded in advancing over this perlious region for a distance of thirty miles from Auleitsivikjord, where he reached an elevation of 2200 feet above the sea. Nordenskiold had already shared in six previous Arctic expeditions, when he hazarded the famous venture of navigating the seas along the northern coast of Siberia in search of that northeast passage which had baffled the

Dutch sea captains of old. Nordenskiold had already penetrated the Kara Sea, and had named the excellent harbor of Port Dickson after the munificent patron of the expedition. A year later (1875) a second voyage covered the same course with equal success. Nordenskiold believed that Arctic conditions thus twice experienced could fairly be relied upon. In 1878 he started out in the *Vega,* the venture now being jointly supported by the Gothenburg merchant Dickson, a wealthy Siberian, Sibiriakov, and the King of Sweden. The rate of progress made by the *Vega* is interesting. Leaving Port Dickson on August 10, the vessel in nine days rounded Tchelyuskin, the most northern point of the Asia-European continent. Thence steering southeast in an open and shallow sea (in reality over a continental shelf), on August 27, the mouth of the Lena River was passed. The vessel reached the meridian 173 degrees 20 minutes west of Greenwich by the last of September, but was then frozen in. A winter of valuable research among the aboriginal tribe on the mainland followed, and extended expeditions were made inland from the shore. The *Vega* was kept prisoner until midsummer of the following year. In July, 1879, she renewed her progress and in two days passed Bering Strait. Thus, by untoward circumstances the expedition had barely failed (or, by peculiarly fortunate conditions it had almost succeeded) in making the northeast passage during one season of the year. The *Vega* pursued her way down the Pacific to Japan and on September 2, 1879, sailed into the harbor of Yokohama. Thus it had taken three hundred and twenty-five years to accomplish the task—one of the greatest world-navigation problems—which Captain Willoughby set out to perform in 1554.

It should be remembered that the northeast passage includes the long northern coast of Asiatic Siberia, in itself a distance of 10,000 miles. Considerable exploration of that vast reach of continent known as the Russian Siberian waste has been undertaken by the country most concerned. But, as yet, the knowledge of Siberian lands and seas is limited, and has largely been supplemented by the independent research of explorers of other nationalities. Arctic Siberia, like Arctic America, presents a vast "tundra" region, or treeless waste, outlined irregularly on the south by stunted forest lands. The soil still preserves fossil remains that record a more equable climate in early geologic times. Fossil ivory beds and masses of rich and commercial ores are

known to lie waiting in the earth, while millions of fur-bearing animals in the lower latitudes make this a region of incalculable possible wealth. But the inhospitable nature of the climate, and the rivers all flowing to the more inhospitable seas, make difficult the commercial problem of transportation. Yet even under such conditions, Siberia, since its conquest by Ivan, has yielded rich returns, mostly in valuable furs. Conquered by the freebooter Cossack, Yermak Timodajev, in 1578, it was accepted by Ivan the Terrible as the price of his pardon. Permanent Russian settlements were founded at Tjumen and Tobolsk before the close of the sixteenth century, and as early as 1830, led by covetousness for the rich furs exhibited by savage traders, the Cossacks had penetrated as far as the Lena River. A few years later a Cossack trader sailed down the Lena, levying a tribute of peltries, and reached its western mouth. From the Arctic Sea he ascended the Olekma in 1638, discovered the Tana, and in 1639 reached the Tchendema to the east. It is hardly profitable for the present purpose to follow the history of these early explorations, which were undertaken chiefly by traders. In 1734 there opened up a new era in the history of Siberian discovery, and for the first time scientific expeditions were sent out, mainly for the more accurate investigation of the Arctic Siberian coast.

But these eighteenth-century expeditions have been noted in connection with the northeast passage. Early in the next century Lutke, a Russian captain, examined the west coast of Nova Zembla as far as Cape Nassau, 1821-1824. The New Siberia Islands, discovered in 1770 by a Russian merchant named Liakhov, were surveyed by Lieutenant Anjou as early as 1821, who found the ice to the north so thin as to hazard any pedestrian excursion, and an open sea extending beyond for twenty or thirty miles. Baron Wrangell, also in the Russian service, made similar investigations between Cape Tchelogskoi and the mouth of the Kolyma. All efforts at extended investigation from the coast were invariably stopped by the thinness of the ice. Middendorf (1843) was commissioned for further inspection of the Cape Tchelyuskin region and found open water off the shore in the summer of the same year. This practically completed the Russian survey by land of the Siberian Arctic, but no vessel up to that time had rounded the extreme northern point and the passage of the northeast Arctic seas, from the mouth of the Yenisei to the mouth of the Lena,

had not yet been solved. Some work has been undertaken by equipment. In 1902, Baron von Toll, a rich Siberian, attempted Russians in the last half century, under government and private on his own account to explore the New Siberia Islands off the coast. Von Toll has not been heard from, but his party is supposed to be safe.

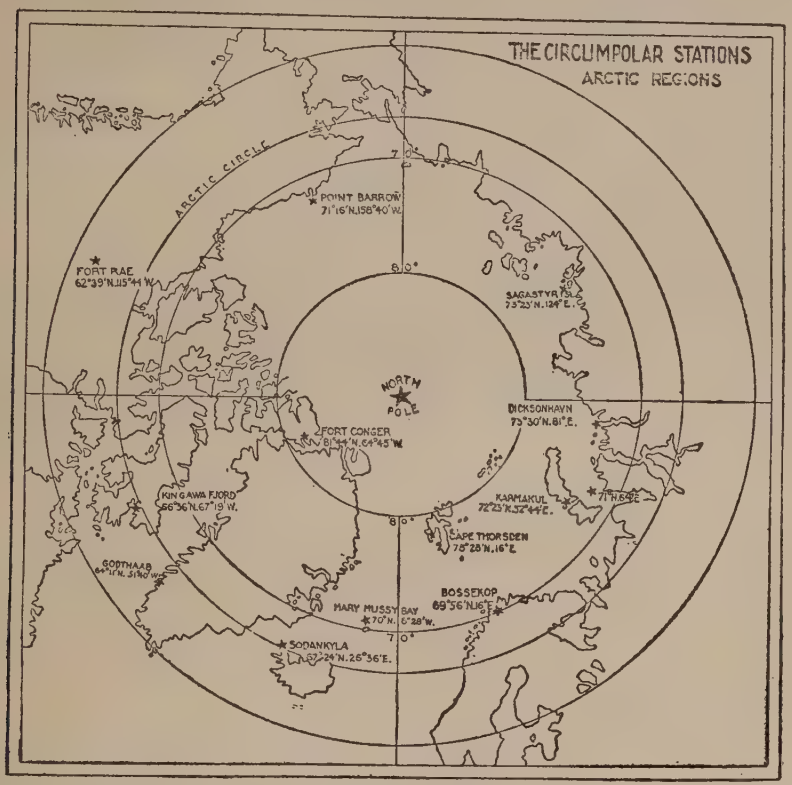
In 1875 a revolution in scientific polar research was brought about almost entirely by an address of Lieutenant Charles Weyprecht of the Austro-Hungarian navy before a German scientific body. Weyprecht, in company with Lieutenant Payer, who was in charge of the sledging, had made some examinations of conditions around Nova Zembla in 1872, contemplatory to making the northeast passage. Weyprecht and Payer passed two winters in latitude 79 degrees and discovered another island group, which they named Franz Josef Land. In April, 1874, they undertook a third Arctic journey to explore McClintock Island. Abandoning their ship, the *Tegetthoff,* they attempted to beat a retreat, dragging their provisions, stored in small boats, on sledges. For three months they traversed the ice-pack of the polar sea, reaching the edge at last in latitude 77 degrees 40 minutes north, and launched their fragile boats August 14. Fortunately, after two weeks, they were picked up by a Russian sailing vessel which brought them safely to Vardö.

Weyprecht embodied the results of his Arctic experiences in various important scientific works, and in an address made a strong plea that instead of these miscellaneous, spasmodic efforts, a united attempt should be made by all of the nations interested in scientific advance. He outlined a system of coöperation by which expeditions and stations established in the polar world could be mutually helpful, eliminating the question of commercial or national rivalry, and all working together purely in the interests of science and the elucidation of the many physical problems to which a knowledge of polar conditions alone affords the clew.

In 1879 there resulted the International Geographical Congress, which convened in Hamburg for the discussion of polar questions. In the winter of 1882 (Weyprecht died at Michelstadt the year before) stations of relief and supplies were established both in the Arctic and the Antarctic regions, according to the plan of the Hamburg Congress, and of a subsequent one held at Bern, which afforded a system of circumpolar coöperation. As

expressly stated, the chief purpose was to make accurate meterological and magnetic observation.

The station established by the United States under Lieutenant Adolphus Greely, in latitude 81 degrees 44 minutes north, on the east coast of Grinnell Land, was one of the earliest. This station, on Lady Franklin Bay, Grinnell Land, was the farthest north of any, and was named Fort Conger, after the United States senator who



had championed the movement. Amply equipped and carefully selected as to its members, it was destined to make some extraordinary geographic exploration, and collected much valuable data in addition to important weather observation. Dr. Octave Pavy made a pedestrian and sledge expedition to the extreme northern point of Grinnell Land, along the eastern coast, while other parties explored the interior. Lockwood and Brainard, two other members, crossed over to Greenland, and on May 5, 1882, reached 83 degrees 24 min-

utes 5 seconds, which, up to that time, was the " farthest north," and for years was the most northern latitude to which the American flag had been carried. In August, 1883, the party left Fort Conger, in expectation of finding a vessel in Smith Sound. The retreat ended in their going into winter quarters near Cape Sabine, and here the remnant of the party was found in the following spring by Captain W. S. Schley, with the Government relief ships, *Bear* and *Thetis*. Lockwood was among the nineteen who had perished, and Greely and his six companions were rescued only in the nick of time. The work of the Greely party was brilliant and permanent.

A decade marked by little activity followed. But equally brilliant and in some ways more remarkable was a series of expeditions undertaken in the years 1891-1906, all financed and led by Lieutenant Robert E. Peary of the United States Navy. Peary, in 1886, made a reconnaissance of the Greenland ice-cap, east of Disco Bay, in latitude 70 degrees north, and on his return devoted all of his spare time to the study of Arctic conditions with the expectation of making further research. In 1891, he set sail in the *Kite,* Mrs. Peary accompanying him. The expenses of this expedition were largely met by Mr. Peary personally. The purpose of the expedition was chiefly to ascertain the northern extension of Greenland. The party wintered in latitude 78 degrees 10 minutes, on the east side of McCormick Bay. In April, 1892, accompanied by Eivind Astrup, Peary commenced that brilliant sledge journey of 1300 miles, on which he discovered Independence Bay (81 degrees 37 minutes north) on the northeast coast, and in part outlined Peary Channel. Peary marked Navy Cliff, Academy Bay (latitude 83 degrees 27 minutes, longitude 61 degrees 10 minutes) on July 4, and from this point of vantage had an almost uninterrupted view of the Arctic Ocean, which indicated the rapid convergence of the eastern and western coasts, north of the 78th parallel, and thus settled the doubtful question of Greenland's insularity. Peary also reported the presence of lands north of the mainland, at that season unencumbered with ice. From Cape York and Smith Sound, Peary made a special study of the ethnic characteristics of the people he found inhabiting this region, applying to these Eskimos the rather sentimental name " Arctic Highlanders "—by which term they have ever since (somewhat confusedly) been known.

At that time so protracted a stay in Arctic latitude was unusual. When the party failed to return at the appointed time, a relief vessel was sent out from St. John's in July, 1894, which returned in September with members of the expedition, including the heroic Mrs. Peary. Peary, with two companions, remained in Greenland. In 1895 another relief expedition brought back this undaunted explorer, who had barely escaped starvation.

Peary's next important venture was in 1896, when he undertook to explore the land masses previously observed north of Greenland, with the intention of pressing on to the North Pole, should conditions permit. He succeeded in passing Lockwood's farthest, reaching 83 degrees 39 minutes north. In 1900 and 1902 other explorations followed, with the North Pole as the much sought goal. Beyond 84 degrees 17 minutes Peary could not penetrate on account of the disintegration of the polar pack. This was the nearest approach to the Pole made by any explorer in the American Arctic, and it closely challenged the record in the Asiatic Arctic, though made under more difficult conditions. By this time Peary had devoted twelve years to the most arduous phase of Arctic exploration. He was now the foremost American Arctic explorer, and, in 1902, the American Geographical Society elected him its president. Peary's accomplishments in the Arctic in the years 1886-1897 were embodied in valuable scientific collections (including a meteorite of 45 tons found at Cape York, and he published a volume of narrative called "Northward over the Great Ice." The Royal and the Royal Scottish, as well as the Philadelphia and the American Geographical, Societies all hastened to honor him, and from each of these he received gold medals.

Peary determined a return to the Arctic in 1904, and subscriptions were solicited for the expedition. The plan in outline was to establish headquarters at a point as far north as his vessel could reach, and then await the opportunity of favorable conditions for a "dash" for the Pole. This was to be taken up by ice travel on sledges in the late winter and early spring, when the long-awaited Arctic day dawns. A special ship was constructed after the commander's own designs, powerfully built and equipped for ramming the ice, since on the initial fact of securing a base far enough north the chances for success were felt to depend. Tardy subscriptions delayed the enterprise, and not until July, 1905, did the Peary vessel—the *Roosevelt*—set out. A collier vessel had already been

sent to Greenland. Peary reached Cape Sabine in mid-August, 1905, the voyage so far successful, but with the real difficulty of the expedition ahead of him, in pushing his stoutly-built vessel to the farthest possible point north before establishing quarters. The waters of the sea to the north of Sabine are especially difficult of ice navigation, and completely baffled Nansen's vessel in 1902.

Such a point would bring the explorer about seventy miles nearer the Pole than even the most northern station in Franz Josef Land. This would still leave about 500 miles for the "dash," in all a journey of 1000 miles to be made in a favorable season lasting less than 100 days. An average of about twelve miles would then be necessary, regardless of the condition of the ice, the party's equipment, or their personal fatigue. Peary relied upon Eskimos and dogs for his transportation.

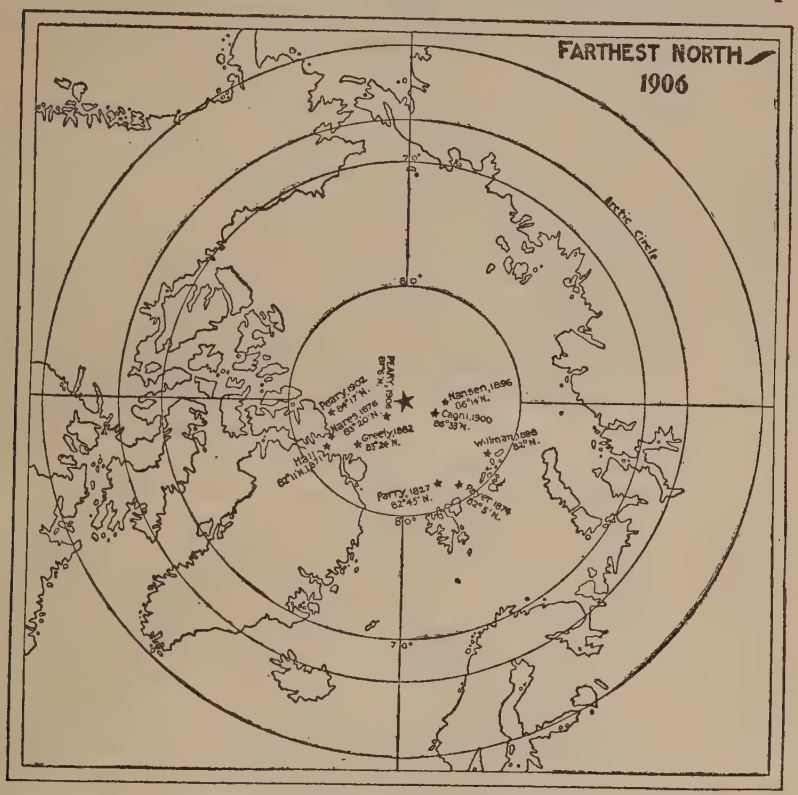
The first message from Peary was the following dispatch dated Hopedale, Labrador, via Twillingate, Newfoundland, November 2, 1906:

"The *Roosevelt* wintered on the north coast of Grant Land, somewhat north of the *Alert* winter quarters. Went north with sledges February, via Heckla and Columbia. Delayed by open water between 84 and 85 degrees. Beyond 85, six days. Gale disrupted ice, destroyed caches, cut off communication with supporting bodies and drifted due east. Reached 87 degrees 6 minutes, north latitude, over ice drifting steadily eastward. Returning ate eight dogs. Drifted eastward, delayed by open water, reached north coast Greenland in straitened conditions. Killed musk oxen and returned along Greenland coast to ship. Two supporting parties driven on north coast Greenland. One rescued by me in starving condition. After one week recuperation on *Roosevelt,* sledged west, completing north coast of Grant Land, and reached other land near 100th meridian. Homeward voyage was incessant battle with ice, storms, and head winds. *Roosevelt* magnificent ice fighter and sea boat. No deaths or illness in expedition.

PEARY."

Later statements from the commander varied only in this, that they filled out the details of the expedition as to dates and the hardships. The *Roosevelt* was able to make its way north to the coast of Grant Land, which was somewhat farther north than Peary

expected to be able to push his ship, and nearer the Pole than any other ship had been in American waters. Here, 82 degrees 27 minutes north latitude, winter quarters were established and preparations for the dash for the Pole were hastened forward. These were completed by February 7, and Peary set out. Other parties, as relief parties, also went out under charge of Captain Bartlett, Dr. Wolfe, R. G. Maroin, J. Clarke, and M. Ryan. The first part



of the journey was accomplished under favorable conditions, then came storms, but still Peary went northward until he reached 87 degrees 6 minutes, or only about 201 miles from the Pole. There he planted the American flag, and having established a new record turned southward. But before he started on the return, the food supply had almost given out, and when the *Roosevelt* was reached, only three dogs out of the original seventeen were left, it having been necessary to eat the others, although the Eskimos had

shot about 300 musk oxen and 50 deer. On the return the party encountered a severe snowstorm which lasted over a week and during which they completely lost their bearing.

In all, Peary was absent from the ship 117 days. Then after a week's recuperation, he sledged westward to a gap of about fifty miles left unexamined in the coast line of Grant Land between the exploration of the Nares expedition of 1875-1876 and of the Norwegian expedition of 1901. This he completed, and going still further westward discovered a new land near the 100th meridian.

On July 4, 1906, the *Roosevelt* started on her homeward voyage which was an "incessant battle with ice, storms, and head winds." Two blades of the propeller were broken away by the ice. Then the coal supply ran out, and, although the vessel was schooner rigged, sails were useless, and it was impossible to make more than a knot an hour. On October 15, Hebron was reached and a small supply of wood obtained. Then at Nain and Hopedale they got more wood and, at the latter place, a few tons of coal. It was at Hopedale, also, that Peary was enabled to send his first message to civilization, November 2, 1906.

Well did Peary deserve the credit and the reward of being the most successful Arctic explorer that had yet faced the frozen north. Notwithstanding he failed in 1906 in his great purpose of reaching the Pole, he contributed a great service to geographic science in that he gave accurate information with reference to a large territory which had been entirely an unknown blank upon the maps up to that time.

Meanwhile, in the Arctic seas of the eastern hemisphere enterprise had not been lacking. It is hardly possible in short compass to chronicle the achievements of all the intrepid explorers of all nations, who, in the period of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, have laid Arctic sacrifices on the altar of scientific attainment. Certainly it would be impossible to do them full justice, Dutch, English, American, Swedish, Norwegian, and German activity in polar research marked the years from 1870 to 1884. In 1892 two young Swedish naturalists, Bjorling and Kalstennius, left St. John's for Smith Sound. They were insufficiently equipped, and are known to have been in a condition bordering on desperation when they set out in a small boat, October 12, for Cape Faraday, Ellesmere Land. Traces of them were subsequently found on

Carey Island, where their vessel had been driven ashore in August. But this discovery was made after two years had elapsed, and their fate, so easy to surmise, has never been definitely settled.

But the explorations of recent years were culminated by the accomplishments of the Norwegian, Fridjof Nansen. Nansen, as early as 1882, two years after graduating from the University of Christiania, joined an expedition in a sailing vessel bound for the Arctic regions. In 1888 he made that remarkable journey across Greenland, being the first to track the pathless curvature of the Greenland ice-cap. The Norwegian Storthing then voted 200,000 kroner for an expedition to the North Pole under Nansen, and on June 24, 1893, he set out from Christiania. Nansen's vessel, the *Fram* (*i. e., Forward,* named by Mrs. Nansen, who "had the courage to remain behind"), was one of 170 tons, especially constructed so that it would be lifted up instead of crushed by the pressure of the ice-pack, and equipped with provisions for five years. Peary's expeditions had already established the possibility of such a protracted sojourn in the Arctic, with proper equipment and sanitary precautions. Nansen's plan was a startling, though thoroughly natural and scientific one; namely, to take advantage of the North Siberian current, which he believed to flow from Bering Strait across the Pole toward the Atlantic, and to abandon his vessel's course to this natural drift for a period of several years. That such a trans-polar current exists is based upon the evidence that driftwood, supposed to come from Alaska, is every year cast upon the east Greenland coast, and relics of the ill-fated American vessel *Jeannette,* which was crushed in the ice in June, 1881, off the Siberian coast, were picked up eleven hundred days later on the shores of southwest Greenland.

The question of polar currents, being the key to so many problems of the general circulation of the waters of the globe, is an interesting subject for consideration. The waters of the surface cooling, become heavier, and sink to take up their course southward as undercurrents, and at last commingle with the warm equatorial waters flowing northward. These northward-flowing, warmer-surface currents are deflected in part by the rotation of the earth, and in part by the friction of the colder waters. They assume a northeastern or eastern direction, while the cold, southward-flowing undercurrents take a southwestern and western direction. Volumes of fresh water are poured out into the Arctic basin by

the great rivers draining the lands of the northern hemisphere. With practically no evaporation, and much precipitation, a light surface strata is formed in the polar seas, exercising a tendency to spread over the comparatively denser waters from the south. Thus polar surface currents southward flowing are found, such as that which Nansen now proposed to test, passing along the east coasts of Greenland and Labrador, with a decidedly westerly course produced by the rotation of the earth.

On September 22 the *Fram,* in latitude 78 degrees 45 minutes, north of the New Siberian Islands, began its trip toward the Pole. In March, 1895, the ice-clipped vessel being then in latitude 83 degrees and 59 minutes, Nansen and Lieutenant Johanson set out with sledges and dogs to advance still farther toward the Pole. A month later, on April 8, 1895, they reached 86 degrees and 14 minutes on longitude 95 degrees east of Greenwich, constituting an advance of 2 degrees and 50 minutes over any previous explorers, and only 250 miles from the Pole. But now they found that the ice pack on which they traveled was itself drifting with a southernly trend. Making for Franz Josef Land, they wintered there in a cave hut, subsisting on bear and walrus. In the spring of 1896 they set out southward to Spitzbergen, traveling over the ice. In June, Nansen reached Franz Josef Land, in desperate straits, but fortunately met with members of another party—the Jackson-Harmsworth expedition, which had also started out in 1894, but which were provided with a liberal equipment. Nansen and Jackson returned to Norway in the Jackson-Harmsworth supply vessel, the *Windward.* In the same month the *Fram* had arrived at Hammerfest, Norway, the most northern town in Europe. The *Fram* reached as far as latitude 85 degrees 57 minutes in her drift with the ice, two years after abandoning her course to the natural current. No land had been sighted north of latitude 82 degrees, but open water was found in latitude 83 degrees and 14 minutes (on longitude 14 degrees east of Greenwich). The *Fram* had made her perilous venture with marked success, and returned uninjured to Norway, with her crew in perfect health.

Nansen's most important discovery related to the very deep ice-covered ocean or Arctic Sea north of Franz Josef Land and the Spitzbergen group, in longitude 140 degrees east to 10 degrees east of Greenwich. The temperature of the waters proved relatively warm in the depths of the ocean, and it possessed a rich animal

life. The discovery of this deep water, where formerly there was believed to be only a shallow sea, forces a new geological view of the Asiatic-European continent, showing as it does the existence of a "drowned plain," or continental shelf, extending northward from the Asiatic-European land mass. The edge of this shelf would indicate what the geologist would call the true continent-margin, and the conclusion points to a comparatively recent geological period for the submerging of this great northern plain, now a marine plateau. Thus Nansen's discovery gave a new trend to speculation as to the northern physiography of the earth in earlier geological periods. Nansen's research coördinated as it were the miscellaneous items of information already pigeon-holed by science, producing a uniform general knowledge, limited, of course, but utilizable as a working hypothesis and well substantiated so far as it went.

The prestige of the Spitzbergen route remained undiminished and a new method of polar research was soon to be attempted. Conway, in 1896-1897, had explored the interior of Spitzbergen, and for the first time crossed that island group. Nathors completely circled that archipelago and fixed its geographical relations to Franz Josef Land. On July 11, 1897, some Swedish experimenters, Andrée, an engineer, and Drs. Strindberg and Fraenkel, ascended in a balloon from the north of the Spitzbergen group, and started on their mysterious aërial voyage in search of the Pole. Pigeon messages received soon afterward established their direction of progress for two days to have been northeasterly, but this was the last information to reach the civilized world.

In the winter of 1899-1900 an Italian venture under the Duke of Abruzzi, in the *Stella Polaris,* established favorable quarters north of Franz Josef Land. Cagni, one of the staff, the Duke of Abruzzi unfortunately being unable to go, undertook a sledge journey from this base, and actually distanced Nansen's record, reaching 86 degrees 33 minutes 49 seconds north. This same region was the field of American explorations in 1902, preparing the way, but not immediately resultful. In 1898 the *Fram* had again set out on a polar voyage, this time under Captain Sverdrup, and in an expedition, lasting until 1902, explored the American archipelago, and contributed important scientific results respecting the Sir John Franklin area, west of Smith Sound. A scientific expedition subsidized by the French Academy of Science followed in 1903. The

Ziegler expedition in the *America* set out from Trondhjem, Norway, for Franz Josef Land the same summer, and in the autumn a Canadian party left Halifax in the *Neptune*.

Of these, the Ziegler expedition was by far the most important. William Ziegler, an American, was the generous and intelligent supporter of this Arctic endeavor to reach the Pole by way of the European Arctic Ocean. Ziegler's previous experiment with the Baldwin-Ziegler expedition of 1901, which visited Rudolf Land, Nansen's old hut, and Greely's Island, but practically accomplishing nothing, had not deterred him from this, an equally resultless, venture. Anthony Fiala, who had distinguished himself in the first Ziegler party sent out, was given command of the second, which, in June, 1903, left Trondhjem, in the strong steam whaling vessel *America*. Conditions were unusually favorable and the party established themselves at Teplitz Bay, Crown Prince Rudolf Land, which gave them a latitude of 81 degrees 50 minutes north from which to work. This point was reached in August, 1903, after a voyage of little difficulty. Camp was established on shore, but in November, while a considerable store of provisions was still on board, the *America* was crushed in the ice, and eventually drifted away and was lost.

In the spring of the following year Fiala made his attempt to advance toward the Pole, but covered only a few miles before an accident compelled his return. A second start was made almost immediately, but the ice was in bad condition, and Fiala was compelled to give that season's project up. Fiala was fired with enthusiasm to reach the coveted 90 degrees, or at least to establish a new farthest north record, and impatiently awaited passage of the winter darkness. On March 16, 1904, provisioned for 100 days, he set out with men and dogs, but the best effort of the party made only a few miles a day over the rough hummocks and treacherous snow pockets. The ice floe was continually breaking up, on account of the phenomenal temperature of 34 degrees above zero. Before six days of such misadventure, the "dash for the Pole," had degenerated into a game of crossing from ice-cake to ice-cake, and it was difficult to find blocks large enough to bear the whole of the small exploring party. They hardly advanced a dozen miles in six days. At the end of that time the whole project was abandoned until colder weather should provide conditions more favorable.

These disappointing details were not learned until the return

of the expedition in 1905. Meanwhile, in 1904, Ziegler had twice sent Champ in charge of relief expeditions, which each time failed to reach Franz Joseph Land, and returned to Norway. In 1905 Ziegler purchased a powerful whaler, the *Terra Nova,* and again fitted out a search party with Champ at the head, but just before the vessel sailed from Norway Ziegler died, having given as his last command, "Don't come back until you have rescued those boys." Champ on this trip did rescue "the boys," finding them scattered along the coast at various posts, short of provisions, but still sound.

In 1904 the Norwegian Captain Ronald Amundsen set out in a small sailing sloop, his object being to locate anew the north magnetic pole. This had been discovered by Ross in 1832 on the southeast triangle of Boothia Felix, but it was supposed to have traveled a few degrees east, about a thousand miles from the pole of the earth's axis of revolution, since Ross had fixed its co-ordinates.

Amundsen, with a handful of men, and the *Gjöa,* a vessel of only 47 tons, succeeded in making the northwest passage, as well as in accomplishing the declared object of his expedition. Entering Lancaster Sound from Baffin Bay, in June of 1903, the Norwegian captain followed Parry's old route of 1819, and reached King William Land, that region forever associated with the sad fate of Franklin's men. This was the field for his scientific endeavors in locating the north magnetic pole. Amundsen's survey included the coast and waters off western Boothia, south to King William Land, and as far west as Victoria Land. He collected much data respecting the phenomena of magnetic variation, inclination, and intensity, and sent the results to Nansen, hermetically sealed in a metal tube. This survey accomplished, Amundsen resumed his course in the little single-stick vessel, the *Gjöa.* From Victoria Strait he reached the channel leading westward between the Arctic Archipelago and the American mainland—the route discovered by the Franklin party, though not credited to them until many years of search had collected the pitiful tokens of their line of travel. The *Gjöa* is the first to accomplish, without serious difficulty, the northwest passage. It followed the Franklin course, and avoided the hardships of McClure's more northernly course. Here, it may be said, the comparatively shallow water (indicating in the western hemisphere also a continental shelf), insures in summer an open

sea, since drifting fragments from the polar pack ground farther out. Moreover, the coast is "tundra" land, or bare, and being low, has no glacial formation to fill the channels with icebergs.

He arrived at the mouth of the Mackenzie River in September, 1905, and found some whalers there, who were caught in the ice. They told him that the political situation was strained between Norway and Sweden, and, being anxious to learn what had happened, as well as to hear from his family, he determined to march south to the Yukon telegraph station at Eagle City. It was a 700 mile trip on snowshoes, and had only been made once or twice before by trappers. With Captain Magg of the whaler *Bonanza,* he set out. Four weeks later (December 5, 1905) they arrived at their destination. The people could not believe that he had made the trip from Europe via the Arctic Ocean, or that he had come from the mouth of the Mackenzie on snowshoes.

In connection with the International Commission for the Exploration of the Northern Seas, the Duke of Orleans organized an expedition to the Arctic in 1905. For this purpose he tried unsuccessfully to secure Nansen's famous and sturdy vessel, the *Fram,* but had to content himself with the *Belgica.*

When the International Geographic Congress met at Brussels in 1905, it reported favorably on international coöperation in efforts to reach the North Pole and Arctic efforts in general.

Captain Cagni, of the Italian expedition under the Duke of Abruzzi, reached in a pedestrian trip 86 degrees 33 minutes 49 seconds north, or within 237 miles of the Pole. The record of the other leading explorers in their northern penetration is as follows: Nansen, in April, 1896, 86 degrees 14 minutes; Peary, in April, 1902, 84 degrees 17 minutes; Greely, in May, 1882, 83 degrees 24 minutes; Nares, in May, 1876, 83 degrees 20 minutes; Parry, in July, 1827, 82 degrees 45 minutes; Hall, in August, 1870, 82 degrees 11 minutes; Payer, in April, 1874, 82 degrees 5 minutes; Wellman, in 1898, 82 degrees.

It is interesting, but not conclusive, to note that Cagni's and Nansen's "farthest" were each made by way of Franz Josef Land, while Peary, Greely, Nares, and Hall all made their records in the western hemisphere.

The Harrison Expedition, under command of A. H. Harrison, left Athabasco Landing, July 22, 1905, bound for the Mackenzie Delta, the chief purpose being to explore the Parry Archipelago.

The Anglo-American Arctic Expedition, under command of Captain Ejnar Mikkelsen, sailed from Victoria, B. C., May 20, 1906, on board the schooner *Duchess of Bedford,* the purpose being to make tidal observations along Alaska and Banks land, geological, ethnographical and zoölogical collections among the western Parry Islands, and meteorological observations as well as endeavoring to discover new islands as a western extension of the Parry Archipelago. The Danish Expedition, under L. Mylius Erickson, sailed from Copenhagen, June 24, 1906, on board the Denmark, with intention of going to the east coast of Greenland and exploring the region between Cape Bismarck and Independence Bay. All these expeditions succeeded in adding to the general knowledge of the Arctic regions, but discovered nothing startling or unexpected.

An expedition that commanded more than ordinary interest during 1905, 1906, 1907 and 1908, was one commanded by Walter Wellman, who, after several voyages by sea, decided it was possible to reach the pole with an airship. Extensive preparations were made at the expense of Victor Lawson, of the Chicago Record-Herald. Every modern invention, including wireless telegraphy, was installed, but after several abortive attempts in 1907 and 1908, Mr. Wellman was forced to abandon his project.

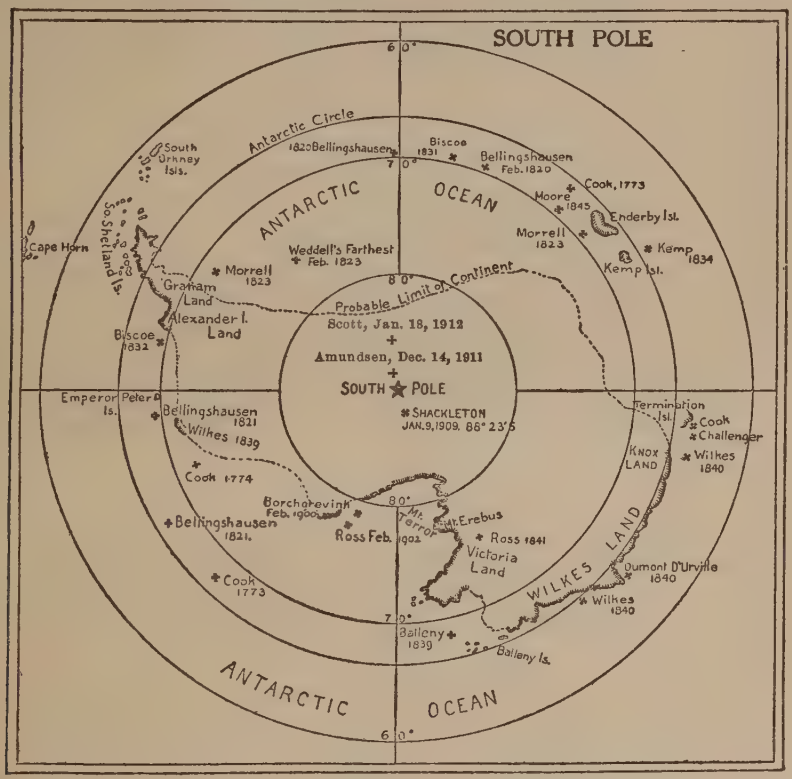
Chapter II

ANTARCTIC REGIONS

AS successive expeditions reach and surpass preceding records, the incentive of emulation comes into greater and greater account. The declared "impossible" has been over and over accomplished through persistence, increase of knowledge, and at times (it must be confessed) through unusually favorable conditions, which in the variable Arctic regions are entirely accidental. As Sir W. Martin Conway suggests, the exploration of the Arctic regions will probably be more thorough if the fortunate discovery of the North Pole is postponed for many years. Scientific interest has not abated since Sir John Frobisher expressed as his view that the discovery of the polar passage was the "one thing left in the world"! The commercial motive, it is true, died with the whale industry, but the spirit of adventure and the flame of science are yet alive in the world. And when, in that time to be, all we may know of the northern cap within its radius of 23 degrees and 28 minutes is set down by science, we have yet at the other extreme of the earth's axis, a practically new region to explore, not only within the line circumscribed by the Antarctic Circle, but in that vast circumpolar ocean which even so far toward the equator as 45 degrees south latitude is found affected with floating Antarctic ice.

The early navigators of the sixteenth century had a vague conception of a vast continent somewhere about the South Pole. New Guinea and the land near Magellan Strait were even confused with it by early geographers and explorers. Tasman showed in 1642 that Australia and Tasmania were cut off by water to the south, but New Zealand to the east was believed to be continental until Cook in 1771 proved its insular character. Kerguelen also went in search of the polar continent south of Good Hope and believed he had found it in sighting the isolated island now bearing his name. Cook's second voyage had this southern continent as its quest. He circumnavigated the globe and penetrated southward

as far as 71 degrees 10 minutes, but did not find the Terra Australia, as this hypothetical land was called. Later explorers, but not until the nineteenth century, reached even higher latitudes, Weddell, in 1823, going as far as 74 degrees and 15 minutes south, and Sir James Ross, 78 degrees 10 minutes south, discovering Victoria Land and visiting Possession and Franklin Islands (1842). In the meantime, William Smith, an English whaler, had



been driven south of the islands off the South American coast to the South Shetland Islands in 1819. Bellingshausen, a Russian navigator, during 1819-1821, passed westward from these islands and entered the Antarctic Circle, discovering two small "islands," Alexander I. and Peter I. The former is now usually called Alexander I. Land, and is considered as probably forming a part of the continental mass of the Antarctic. Weddell, a whaler, reached 74 degrees, 15 minutes south in 1823, reporting compara-

tively open sea. Biscoe, a captain in the service of the Enderby Company, London, discovered Enderby Land in 1831, and the following year discovered and landed on Adelaide Island, near Graham Land. Dr. Biscoe is given the credit of having first set foot on the southern continent. The eastern extremity of Enderby Land was discovered by Captain Kemp in 1833, and in 1838 Balleny, another captain of this enterprising merchant firm, fixed the third angle of the continent in what is now known as Wilkesland. Wilkes, in charge of a United States expedition, explored the Antarctic in the years 1839-1840, and French and British expeditions, under d'Urville and Ross, were conducted during the same period. Ross with the *Erebus* and *Terror,* whose exploits in the Arctic we already know, reached 78 degrees south latitude (about 170 degrees east longitude), exploring the mountainous coast, which on the Pacific shore outlines the continent's deepest sea. Here he discovered and named the volcanoes, Terror and Erebus, which are 12,000 feet in elevation and still active.

Whalers and sealers, besides the scientific exploring expeditions, regularly plied their way to the South Polar seas. Gerlache in 1898-1899 penetrated the frontiers of the ice-pack and drifted for a whole year, his party being the first to winter within the Antarctic Circle. Cluna's "Deep-Sea Expedition" was in 1898. Borchgrevink, a Norwegian, conducted Sir George Newnes's expedition the same year. The company wintered at Cape Adare and reached the region of Mount Erebus in the summer that followed, this being the farthest south reached. It was this expedition which fixed the coördinates of the magnetic South Pole 73 degrees 20 minutes south and 146 degrees east.

The British National Antarctic Expedition, in the *Discovery,* captained by R. F. Scott, set out on Christmas, 1901. The work of this expedition corrects numerous misconceptions which prevailed as to the conditions existing in Antarctic regions. Since the explorations by Wilkes and Ross to the present time, it has been generally believed that Antarctica was so closely bound in with ice as to render its penetration a matter of extreme hazard. Captain Scott tells us that in any average February (midsummer) in the southern hemisphere a ship, by coming directly south on the 178th meridian, can reach the great barrier without encountering any ice-pack. The information obtained as to Antarctic icebergs is

both interesting and surprising. There are apparently few bergs which exceed a mile and a quarter or a mile and a half in length, or that exceed 200-250 feet in height—a measure which brings them close within the dimensions of the large tabular bergs of Melville Bay and the North Water off Greenland.

In the region explored by officers of the *Discovery* there seemed to be no clearly differentiated glaciers as large as the largest of northwest Greenland. It was evident that a period of glacial recession had been in vogue for some time, but it appears that this condition has been effected by a colder temperature—too cold to permit of sufficient precipitation to form glaciers of the larger dimensions such as characterized the earlier periods of higher temperature.

In connection with the British Antarctic Expedition, two relief ships, the *Morning* and *Terra Nova,* were fitted out in 1903 and sent in search of Scott and the *Discovery.* In June, 1904, the party was found. The next winter was passed in comparative comfort at MacMurd's Strait, and some scientific work was accomplished. A temperature of 50 degrees below zero was frequently encountered, with one record of 68 degrees below zero. On a sledge journey, organized in the spring, Captain Scott reached 79 degrees 59 minutes south, traversing westward across Victoria Land to meridian 146 degrees, 38 minutes east of Greenwich, some 270 miles from the ice-locked ship, carrying the British flag to the world's present farthest south, 670 statute miles from the Pole. Another party under Barm, traveling to the southwest, found that the depot of supplies established the preceding year on the ice barrier had moved about 608 yards. Investigation of this spring showed the existence of a sea arm stretching southward from Victoria Land to the Ross Barrier. Early in 1905 it was feared the icebound *Discovery* would have to be abandoned, but, fortunately, a higher temperature increased the thaw, and with the aid of blasting, the vessel was rescued, and the party returned. In March the Antarctic Circle was once more crossed, and ten days later the ship was anchored at the Auckland Islands. Thence, on the return voyage, observations and soundings were made, and the *Discovery* reached Spithead on September 10.

The British expedition has contributed many important results, with unique biological collections and fossil flora, the latter believed to be of the Miocene age. Geographically, also, much was

accomplished in Victoria Land, while the islands of Ballum and Russell were proved to be one and the same.

In 1901-1902 a German expedition established a magnetic station on Kerguelin Island. A Swedish expedition, under Nordenskiold, reached Erebus and Terror Bay, but lost its vessels in the ice. The Scottish Antarctic Expedition was sent out under Bruce, in 1903, for the purpose of investigating oceanic and meteorological conditions in the Weddell Quadrant. A French expedition under Charcot reached Patagonia in March, 1903, and spent the winter at Weddell Island, 65 degrees south. Charcot's expedition mapped out the west coast of Graham Land and proved the connection of Bismarck Channel with the sea to the east.

The Bruce expedition, meanwhile, proceeded to 72 degrees 25 minutes south, on the 18th meridian of west longitude, and followed for 100 miles the supposed "ice-foot" of the Antarctic continent. An interesting sounding was made of 2,650 fathoms exactly at the point where Ross's observation records 4,000 fathoms, so that the latter is supposed to have been an error. Gough Island was visited and found fertile. A Swedish expedition, under Nordenskiold, succeeded in mapping out King Oscar II. Land and other islands south, as far as the 66th parallel, and likewise brought home valuable collections, including some rich fossiliferous marine deposits and fossil flora of the Jurassic and Tertiary periods.

Lieutenant Ernest Shackleton led another British Antarctic expedition in 1907-1909. This expedition located the magnetic South Pole at 72:25 latitude, 154 east longitude. More than 100 peaks were discovered as well as numerous mountain ranges. Lieutenant Shackleton's party reached a point within ninety-seven miles of the South Pole when they were compelled to turn back. This was the nearest approach to the pole ever made up to this time. In June, 1910, Captain Robert Falcon Scott, the leader of the British National Antarctic Expedition of 1900-1904, started his second Antarctic expedition. His ship, the *Terra Nova,* left New Zealand for the south on November 29, 1910, and entered the ice pack on December 9. Winter quarters were located at Cape Evans. From here various exploring parties were sent out. The *Terra Nova* returned north in March, 1911, leaving most of the explorers in the Antarctic. She again went north in the summer of 1912 and brought back news of the year's work. The main party were occupied in various scientific work, and in preparing depots

for the final advance towards the South Pole. Captain Scott, with the main party, finally started south on November 2, 1911. His last supporting party, under Lieutenant Evans, left him, January 4, 1912, in latitude 87° 36″ S., when within 150 miles of the Pole. Scott took with him on his final dash to the Pole Dr. Wilson, Captain Oates, Lieutenant Bowers, and Petty-officer Evans. The world heard nothing further from the gallant explorers until February 10, 1913, when the *Terra Nova* reached New Zealand bringing the news that Scott's party reached the South Pole on January 18, 1912, only to find that they had been forestalled in the discovery by the Norwegian explorer Amundsen, whose records showed he had reached the Pole on December 14, 1911, or thirty-five days before. Scott's party experienced great hardships and suffering, and on their return journey gave out, and, caught by a blizzard, died of exhaustion and exposure when within eleven miles of One-Ton Camp, where provisions awaited them.

With the bodies of the heroic explorers was found the diary of Captain Scott with entries almost up to the hour of his death. This bore a brave message to his countrymen and a complete explanation of the misfortunes that overcame his expedition.

The man who was the first to reach the coveted South Pole was the Swedish explorer Captain Roald Amundsen, as noted above. This Swedish expedition reached the Bay of Whales near the end of Ross Barrier in 1911, and it was here that Captain Scott found the expedition on February 4, 1911. The two expeditions advanced along entirely different lines, however. Captain Amundsen on his journey southward was favored with good weather conditions, which, combined with his carefully planned system of depots, and his well-trained and efficient teams of sledge-dogs, enabled his party to advance rapidly to his goal without experiencing the deprivations and hardships common to all former expeditions.

Captain Amundsen and party reached the South Pole on December 14, 1911, and stayed there until December 17, taking many observations and gathering invaluable scientific data. His return march occupied fifty-six days, and the whole party reached their base of supplies in as good condition as when they set out. This is especially remarkable when we consider the fate of the British party that reached the Pole, whose journey south was made only thirty-five days later, and in which every man was lost.

Chapter III

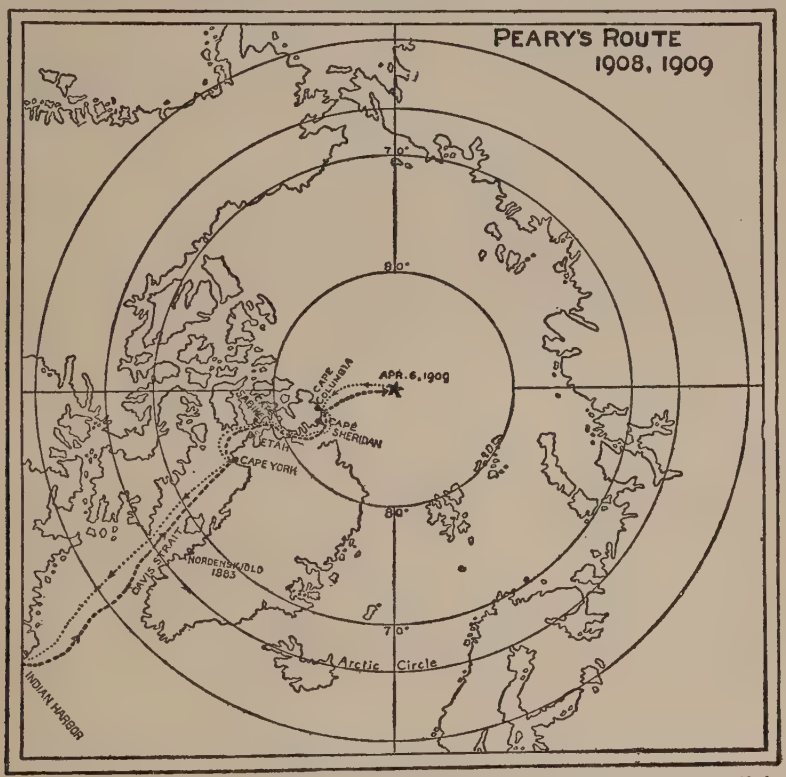
THE PRESENT SITUATION

AFTER 300 years of fruitless effort, the North Pole was discovered, April 6, 1909, by Commander Robert E. Peary. His last and successful expedition left New York City July 6, 1908, bound for Sydney, N. S., in the Arctic steamboat, *Roosevelt,* equipped for a two-year voyage. Commander Peary brought to bear the experience of a quarter of a century on his selection of supplies and equipments, realizing that it was a lack of them which had prevented his reaching the pole on his last trip. The ship was in command of his former captain, R. A. Bartlett of Newfoundland, and the crew was gathered from the same province. The scientists who accompanied the expedition were: Prof. Ross G. Marvin, who alone died on the trip; D. D. McMillan, George Borup and Dr. J. W. Goodsell.

Reaching Sydney, July 17, the real journey was begun, and after a successful voyage Cape York was reached August 1. After encountering some difficulty from the ice floes, the *Roosevelt* was finally established in winter quarters at Cape Sheridan, Grant Land, September 1. Here the little party made extended preparations for the long, dark winter, the commander knowing how necessary it was to keep his party in good health and spirits. While provisions were taken on land and shelter constructed to provide against accident, the steamer was lived in, not only by the commander and his crew, but by the eskimos whom he had brought with him. One of the serious difficulties that began to confront Commander Peary as early as November 1, was the dying of his dogs. Upon them so much depended that he exhausted every effort to save them, but lost many in spite of all his efforts.

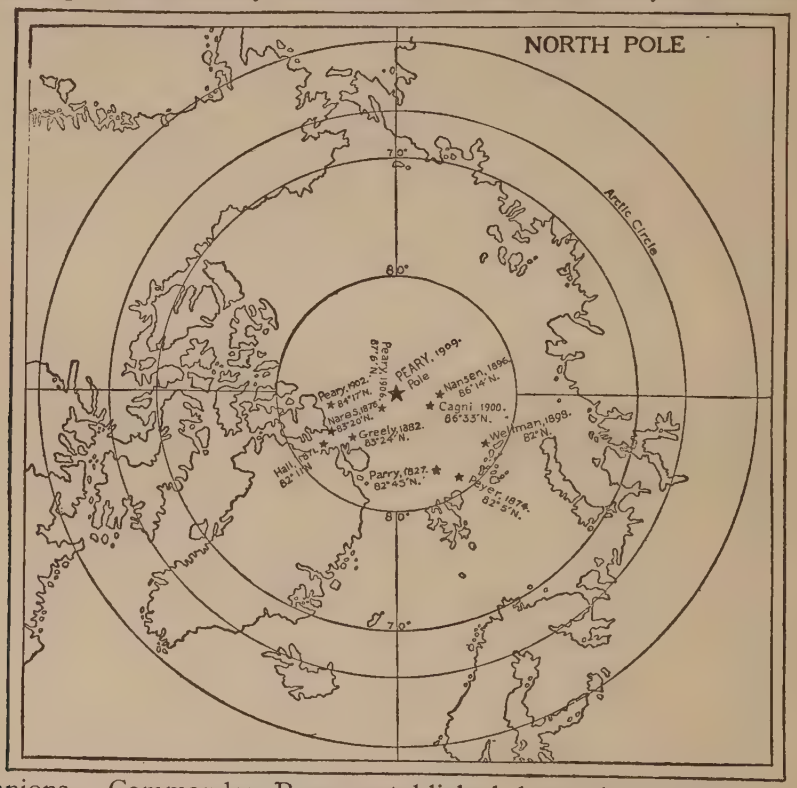
At last, after the tiring wait, on February 22, Commander Peary left the *Roosevelt* to begin his march for the goal toward which he had struggled for twenty-five years. On March 1, 1909, Commander Peary left Cape Columbia with several supporting parties of white men and eskimos. His equipment consisted of nine-

teen sleds and 133 dogs. Captain Bartlett led the first supporting party; Goodsell and McMillan also commanded others, but on March 14 they were sent back to Cape Columbia. Matthew Henson, who had accompanied Commander Peary upon several former voyages, was chosen to go ahead for the advance work. His physical strength and ability to manage the dogs made him the best man for this work, and he was with Commander Peary on the final dash for the pole. On March 22 they passed the record of 86:14 made



by Fridjof Nansen; on March 23, 86:34 of the Abruzzi expedition, and on March 24, 86:38 was reached. Captain Bartlett was once more in the lead when the expedition left 86:38, but soon thereafter he was sent back, Commander Peary, Henson and four eskimos going on alone. In starting out on this last march, Commander Peary carefully selected his provisions, taking along enough for forty days, and he had with him only the best of the remaining dogs.

They made from fifteen to twenty-five miles a day, passing the 88 parallel, April 2; the 89 parallel April 4, and April 6, the 90 parallel was reached. In speaking of this Commander Peary declares that he was too exhausted to experience any great emotions, aside from the satisfaction which must come of a long attempted task completed. He spent about thirty hours making his observations and resting for the return trip, then having left the flag of his country behind him, he set out to rejoin his com-



panions. Commander Peary established beyond any doubt the fact that there is no land within the 90 parallel. The vast expanse of ice extended on every side. Fortunately the weather favored the taking of observations, so that he did not have to delay, but started back on April 7.

In spite of their fatigue, the return trip was made without any serious accidents, and Commander Peary reached Cape Columbia, April 23. Four days later he arrived at Cape Sheridan, to be met

with the news that Ross G. Marvin had met his death by drowning on April 10. As soon as the *Roosevelt* was clear of the ice, the expedition set sail from Cape Sheridan, leaving July 18, reaching Indian Harbor, September 5. From there Commander Peary cabled word to the United States of his success. His arrival in the United States on September 23 was made an occasion of paying him distinguished honors. On October 20, Commander Peary submitted his data to the committee appointed by the National Geographical Society for that purpose, and after it had carefully considered it, report was made November 3, that the records corroborated Commander Peary's claims. The following day the National Geographical Society adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas, Commander Robert E. Peary has reached the North Pole, the goal sought for centuries;

"Whereas, This is the greatest geographical achievement that this society can have opportunity to honor; therefore,

"Resolved, That a special medal be awarded to Commander Peary.

"Resolved, That the question of whether or not any one reached the pole prior to 1909 be referred to the committee on research, with instructions to recommend to the board of managers a sub-committee of experts who shall have authority to send for papers or make such journeys as may be necessary to inspect original records, and that this action of the society be communicated at once to those who may have evidences of importance."

The society awarded Commander Peary a special gold medal, and further bestowed a medal upon Captain Bartlett.

The necessity for examining into other records to determine whether Commander Peary was the first to reach the pole, was occasioned by a claim made by Dr. Frederick A. Cook, on September 1, 1909, that on April 21, 1908, he had reached the pole. He had left Gloucester, Mass., July 1, 1907, in the schooner yacht *John R. Bradley*. He and a store of supplies were landed a little north of Etah late in August. Here he wintered with a white man named Rudolph Francke. Dr. Cook claimed to have made the final dash to the pole with two eskimos. Coming back, he spent the winter at Cape Spardo, from whence on February 18, 1909, he pushed on southward, arriving at Copenhagen, September 4, where he was enthusiastically received. After his arrival in the United States, September 21, he went over the country lecturing. The

controversy over his claims and those of Commander Peary was bitter. The matter was decided by the University of Copenhagen, to which Dr. Cook submitted his records, that these records did not substantiate his claim to discovery of the North Pole.

The MacMillan Expedition of 1913-15 crossed Grinnell Land and made an extended survey to the northwest of Alex Heibergland. The Expedition crossed the charted Crocker Land in about 105° W. 83 ° 30′ N., but no land was anywhere visible. MacMillan explored the northern part of Parry Archipelago and mapped Finley Island, the farthest west point reached. His second voyage, made in 1921-22, was to Baffin Land. His explorations extended greatly the known coast line and regions in the interior. He also discovered a tribe of Eskimos hitherto unknown. By the MacMillan Expedition of 1923-24, much of the Kane Sea region was for the first time made known.

The Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-18 consisted of two parties, one headed by Vilhjálmur Stefánsson and the other by R. M. Anderson. Stefánsson's plans had to be materially changed, due to the loss of his ship, the "Karlak," under command of Captain Bartlett. He surveyed, however, the continental shelf of the Arctic Ocean from Melville Island north to 80° 7′ north latitude. He made extensive sledge journeys on the main ice north of Alaska, reaching 76° 36′ north latitude. Anderson took a more southerly course and made scientific researches of great importance. He also surveyed Bathurst Inlet.

Knud Rasmussen, in 1920, made a biological survey of the Eskimo tribes living on the Arctic edge of North America, especially those living between Baffin Bay and the north shores of Alaska.

In 1919, Roald Amundsen, the discoverer of the South Pole, began explorations in the Arctic. He planned to drift in his ship, the "Maud," across the Arctic Ocean, starting from Bering Strait. He wintered in 1919-20 at Aion Island, Siberia. The next year the "Maud" was so damaged that she had to return for repairs. The ship in 1922 resumed her work and spent the following two years in exploration.

Koch, in 1913, crossed the widest part of Greenland from Queen Louise Land to Proven, south of Upernavik.

The North Pole was again reached, in 1926, by airplane and airship or dirigible, although no actual landings were made at the Pole. On May 9, 1926, Lieutenant-Commander Richard Evelyn

Byrd and Floyd G. Bennett as pilot, flew from King's Bay, Spitzbergen, to and around the North Pole and returned safe to his starting point after a flight of fifteen hours. Two days later, Captain Roald Amundsen, with a party also headed by Colonel Umberto Nobile and Lincoln Ellsworth, an American, in the Italian-built dirigible "Norge," left from the same base, King's Bay, Spitzbergen, and flew over the North Pole on May 12. Thus this most northern point in the earth's latitude was visited twice within three days. Neither expedition saw any signs of land at the Pole. The "Norge" continued her flight to reach a goal somewhere on the Alaskan coast. After passing the Pole, the "Norge" encountered terrific storms, with snow and hail, which prevented any aërial survey of the territory passed over. The dirigible was almost constantly in danger of destruction, but a landing was finally effected at Teller, Alaska, after a flight covering about 1800 miles. The flight from Spitzbergen to the Pole, about 750 miles, was made in fifteen hours; that from the North Pole to Point Barrow, about 1250 miles, in twenty-eight and a half hours; that from Point Barrow to Teller, Alaska, about 700 miles, due to erratic course, was made in twenty-four and a half hours. Neither expedition suffered any casualties. It was hoped that the Amundsen Expedition would be able to map great stretches of territory hitherto unknown, especially the section between the North Pole and Alaska, but, due to the storms encountered, not much information was secured concerning the nature of the territory passed over.

The Antarctic regions are not so easily accessible. Ernest Shackleton, in the "Endurance" penetrated Weddell Sea to 77° south latitude, 35 ° west longitude. No landings could be made, except on the ice, and the ship was eventually crushed by the ice. In 1917 Shackleton rescued seven men of the "Aurora," which had been marooned in Ross Sea. Shackleton again made an Antarctic voyage in the "Quest" in 1921, but he died at South Georgia in 1922, after having reached new positions in the Antarctic, hitherto unexplored.

The Copi Expedition in 1920-1923 reached new southerly points on Graham Land, but the expedition failed in its attempt to cross Graham Land and explore the shores of Weddell Sea.

Lieutenant Commander Richard E. Byrd, first to visit the North Pole by air, is planning an expedition with the purpose of exploring Antarctic regions and, if possible, reach the South Pole by air.

ACHIEVEMENTS IN ARCTIC EXPLORATION

Commander	Date	Lat. N.
John Davis	1588	72° 12′
William Barents	1596	79° 49′
Henry Hudson	1607	80° 23′
William Baffin	1616	77° 45′
J. C. Phipps	1773	80° 48′
Scoresby the Elder	1806	81° 30′
Sir William Edward Parry	1827	82° 45′
William Morton, Elisha Kent Kane Expedition	1854	82° 27′
Sir Edward Augustus Inglefield	1859	78° 28′
Dr. Isaac I. Hayes	1861	81° 35′
Baron Nordenskjold and Otter	1868	81° 42′
Captain Charles Frederick Hall	1871	82° 2′
J. Payer	1873	81° 50′
A. H. Markham, Nares Expedition	1875	83° 20′
James B. Lockwood and Gen. David L. Brainard, Gen. A. W. Greely Expedition	1882	83° 24′ 5′
Robert E. Peary	1892	83° 27′
Fridtjof Nansen	1893-5	86° 4′
Frederick George Jackson	1894-7	81° 20′
Prince Luigi Amadeo, Duke of the Abruzzi	1899	82° 4′
Capt. Cagni, Abruzzi's Expedition	1899	86° 34′
Robert E. Peary	1902	84° 17′
Ziegler Polar Expedition	1904	82°
Robert E. Peary	1906	87° 6′
Robert E. Peary	1909	90°
Captain Roald Amundsen	1925	87° 44′
Lieut. Com. R. E. Byrd, Jr.	1926	90°
Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile Expedition	1926	90°

ACHIEVEMENTS IN ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION

Commander	Date	Lat. S.
Captain James Cook	1774	71° 10′
James Weddell	1823	74° 15′
Admiral Charles Wilkes	1839	70°
Captain James Clark Ross	1842	78° 10′
Carstens E. Borchgrevink	1900	78° 34′
Captain Robert F. Scott	1902	82° 17′
Sir Ernest Shackleton	1909	88° 23′
Roald Amundsen	1911	90°
Captain Robert F. Scott	1912	90°

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